

Evaluation of the Use of Dispersal Powers in the East End of Glasgow: Full Report

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An Evaluation of the Use of Dispersal Powers in the Parkhead Area of Glasgow

By Dr Lesley McMillan and Dr Annette Robertson

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Executive Summary

The aim of this research was to evaluate the use of dispersal powers in the Parkhead area of Glasgow. The dispersal order was in place from September 2009 to January 2010 and early indicators suggested a significant impact on antisocial behaviour in the area. The research sought to investigate the overall impact on the community by reviewing the available statistical evidence on crime and antisocial behaviour before, during and after the dispersal order was in place and also providing a qualitative overview, which involved talking to the police, statutory and non-statutory agencies involved to various degrees in the development and implementation of the dispersal order, and also the wider community, including young people. The general findings of the research are summarised under four main headings: overall conclusions, dispersal, diversion and displacement.

Overall Conclusions

- In terms of meeting its main aim ('To improve behaviour within the area and to offer respite to those within it who have suffered from antisocial behaviour over a substantial period of time'), there is evidence that the use of dispersal powers was successful – i.e. statistical data suggest there was a reduction in some forms of antisocial behaviour during the dispersal period and the community survey indicated it was felt to be a worthwhile initiative.
- There was some evidence of a public reassurance effect, which often results from such policing initiatives.
- As an example of a multi-agency partnership approach, the implementation of the dispersal zone appears to have been reasonably successful in pulling the resources of various agencies together.
- The police respondents spoke very positively about the initiative, the partner agencies equally so, but with some key reservations, whilst young people were most critical of the use of these powers.
- Although there appeared to be extensive consultation on the use of dispersal powers, it was suggested by some of those involved that this was perhaps not as inclusive or wide as it could have been.
- A large part of the community felt they were not sufficiently informed about the purpose and use of dispersal powers.
- A key feature of the diversion aspect of the initiative was sustainability, but this does not appear to have been successful to the extent that it could have been.
- In spite of claims that young people were not the intended target of the dispersal, many young people felt stigmatised and demonised by the initiative.
- A tendency was noted of a reliance on anecdotal and other non-empirical data, resulting in a certain level of mythologizing about the success of the initiative.

Dispersal

- The use of dispersal powers was generally perceived to be a last resort, when 'normal' policing and other initiatives had failed to have the intended result.
- There were 298 dispersals, 115 exclusions and 28 arrests during the lifetime of the dispersal zone, suggesting that it had some effect as a form of prevention (very few arrests).
- Data show that young people were most affected by the initiative (78% were aged 21 and under; 57% below the age of 18 and 24% aged 15 and under). Young males accounted for the large majority of people affected (93%) whilst young women/girls accounted for only 7% of all dispersals, exclusions and arrests.
- Statistically, there was little evidence of a general reduction in crime or anti-social behaviour solely as a result of the dispersal, although there was a reduction in some forms of anti-social behaviour more traditionally attributed to young people during the dispersal period (in relation to the previous 16 weeks).
- Local people did perceive a reduction in anti-social behaviour and young people hanging about the streets (but not in crime generally).
- The local community thought the initiative worthwhile, which may indicate that the reassurance effect of high visibility policing was significant. However, it should be noted that older generations were more likely to say this than younger respondents.
- The level of stop and searches increased significantly during the dispersal (by 239% to 1,173) as could be expected, however a similar increase (of 205% to 1,001) was found in the neighbouring beats. Data from the same time period of the following year show that the higher levels of stop and search were sustained, and in fact increased by 2.3% (to 1,201) in the dispersal areas and 11.3% (to 1,114) in the surrounding beats, probably as a result of the new community policing model.
- The level of complaints and disturbances decreased during the dispersal by around 10%.
- Some young people felt both individually and collectively victimised by the dispersal initiative.

Diversion

- Diverting young people away from anti-social activities and into more pro-social pastimes was an important aspect of this initiative.
- Although there is a wide range of activities available for young people in the East End of Glasgow, provided by a few dedicated and hard-working organisations, members of the community, young people, and some partner agencies still perceive a lack of suitable facilities that adequately meet the needs of local young people.

- Whilst there is a range of activities, they are mainly directed at younger age groups, which points to a mismatch or gap in service provision for older teenagers.
- Territoriality appears to hinder take-up of some of the activities available: young people still have problems crossing 'invisible' boundaries.
- Clear and consistent communication is required between the police and all youth providers in order to prevent any interruption to take-up as evidenced by young people apparently being dispersed by police as they made their way to organised activities.
- Removing young people from the streets – whether into their homes or to diversionary activities – is not always perceived as helping or teaching them to use public spaces in pro-social, as opposed to anti-social, ways.

Displacement

- Prior to our analysis, there did not appear to have been any data analysis conducted by the police on displacement as a result of the Parkhead dispersal, which should be considered in future initiatives.
- Anecdotal evidence suggested there was no geographical displacement, but there appears to have been no systematic analysis to establish the extent of displacement in all its forms, for example temporal, spacial and by crime type.
- From our analysis, there was no evidence of a displacement effect as a result of the use of dispersal powers in Parkhead.
- It would appear that territorially militates against geographical displacement.
- There was some, but very little evidence of 'managed displacement', whereby young people were directed to areas outside of the dispersal zone in order to avoid being dispersed officially.
- This form of managed displacement could have repercussions for the safety of young people, driven away from open spaces into more secluded and out-of-the-way locations.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

The Parkhead Dispersal Zone was in operation in the East End of Glasgow from 12th September to 13th December 2009, and subsequently extended by just over three weeks to 5th January 2010. A preliminary analysis of police data suggested that there was a significant reduction in anti-social behaviour in the area during the period that the dispersal zone was in operation. Moreover, anecdotal information indicated that the initiative had led to other positive results, including lower levels of fear of crime, better partnership working, and higher levels of youth engagement in more 'socially-acceptable' activities. However, further research was required in order to provide a valid and reliable evidence base on which to draw lessons from the use of this particular policing-led, but nonetheless multi-agency approach, to tackling a specific problem – in this case youth involvement in anti-social behaviour.

1.1 Background

The Anti-Social Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004 gives Scottish police forces the power to designate areas as dispersal zones for a period of up to 3 months. During the enforcement period police officers are given the power to disperse groups of two or more people in the designated area, require them to leave the area (if they are not residents) and not to return within a 24-hour period if they believe their presence or behaviour is causing or likely to cause alarm or distress to others (Section 21 Anti-Social Behaviour etc. Act, 2004). Failing to comply with an order to disperse is a criminal offence, as is breaching an order by returning to the area within 24 hours. Upon conviction, the penalty for such breaches can include a maximum fine of £2,500, a period of imprisonment, or both.

To date dispersal zones have been used comparatively less in Scotland than in England and Wales (Cavanagh, 2007; Crawford and Lister, 2007). For example, Scotland's largest police force, Strathclyde Police, has resorted to using this power only four times since the legislation was introduced, including the case under investigation.¹ This evaluation of the Parkhead Dispersal Zone provided an opportunity to revisit the initiative in order to review both the short and longer-term impact it had on the communities involved. Academically, it provides an opportunity to review and extend the existing research on such dispersal initiatives and to draw conclusions about the initiative and develop best practice guidelines for dissemination to wider audiences.

¹ The Dispersal Zones implemented by Strathclyde Police Divisions were: Knightswood (2006); Dennistoun (2006-07); Parkhead (2009/10) and Saracen Cross (2011).

1.2 Aims & Objectives of the Research

The overall aim of the research was to evaluate the dispersal zone initiative in terms of meeting its main objective, which was to tackle the issue of gang-related violent crime in the dispersal zone area by adopting a community partnership approach. In order to meet this aim, the research objectives were:

- To establish the impact of the initiative on anti-social behaviour in the area by comparing police data from before, during and after the initiative was implemented;
- To identify the expectations of the police and partners and whether they were realised during the course of the initiative;
- To review the processes involved and the strategies adopted, which include both 'enforcement' and 'diversion' activities;
- To investigate the views of the police and partners on the strengths and weaknesses of this approach to tackling ASB and gang-related violence;
- To survey local perceptions, including those of young people, of the initiative and its impact.

1.3 Structure of the Report

This report is organised in the following way: It begins with a short review of existing research on antisocial behaviour and dispersal zones, in order to provide context and define the key issues that are relevant to an in-depth case study of the Parkhead Dispersal Zone (Chapter 2). The methods used to conduct the study and collect data are then described and discussed in order to demonstrate research rigour (Chapter 3). The main part of the research consists of a detailed case study of the Parkhead Dispersal Zone, and includes a review of the planning and implementation stages (Chapter 4). Following on from the case study the statistical results of the initiative are presented and analysed (Chapter 5). The perceptions of a range of individuals and groups about the use and effectiveness of dispersal powers in the Parkhead area are examined in Chapter 6, including the results of the community survey and focus groups with young people, in order to add a qualitative perspective to the statistical overview provided beforehand. On the basis of all of the evidence provided, the strengths and weaknesses of the use of the dispersal order in Parkhead are evaluated under key headings and some conclusions drawn and recommendations made in relation to the use of such powers (Chapter 7).

Chapter 2 - Previous Research on Anti-Social Behaviour and Dispersal Zones

The use of anti-social behaviour legislation has been the subject of both academic studies and media reports, as have dispersal powers – one of the more controversial measures introduced under the antisocial behaviour legislation (Brown, 2005). The key evaluation reports on dispersal zones have been conducted by Crawford and Lister (2007), with a focus on England and Wales, and Cavanagh (2007), whose review focused on Scottish experiences. Their research comprehensively included an evaluation of each stage of the planning and implementation of several dispersal zones in Scotland and England by using both quantitative and qualitative data to rigorously question both the strengths and weaknesses of using such an approach to tackle antisocial behaviour committed largely, though not exclusively, by young people. As the two key research studies on the subject of dispersal powers, they feature heavily in this report.

There are numerous themes that emerge from previous studies of antisocial behaviour and dispersal powers that are relevant to the current evaluation, including defining and measuring antisocial behaviour; the relationship between antisocial behaviour and young people and the police; young people as offenders and victims; and the policy dimension, which tends to advocate both enforcement and diversion as part of a multi-agency strategy to tackle antisocial behaviour. These key themes are introduced and discussed briefly below.

2.1 Defining Antisocial Behaviour

Antisocial behaviour is generally recognised to be a complex concept, partly because there is no universally accepted definition of what it entails. Legally, it is defined as behaviour that causes or is likely to cause ‘harassment, alarm or distress’ (Crime and Disorder Act, 1998), but the law does not list behaviours that could or should be considered to be antisocial:² rather the behaviour is only thus defined by the effect or – importantly – the perceived effect – it may have on an individual, household or community. In effect this focus on behaviour that has caused or may cause alarm or distress, allows for a very broad definition of what can be considered antisocial, extending the range of actions considered problematic beyond what is criminal by definition to potentially anything that adversely affects the standards of living of those who are affected (Scottish Parliament Information Centre, 2001).

The complexity of the issue is thus both the cause and effect of the legislation’s lack of clarity in terms of definitions, the main problem being – how do we assess what represents such behaviour, since many different factors (including objective demographic factors such

² The Home Office Research Development and Statistics Directorate has produced a typology of anti-social behaviour, which includes 4 main categories of behaviour that are ‘widely accepted to be anti-social by both practitioners and the public’ (Home Office, 2004): misuse of public space; disregard for community/personal well-being; acts directed at people; environmental damage.

as age, and gender, but also more subjective factors such as local knowledge) can potentially have an impact on an individual's perceptions of what they consider to be causing alarm and distress and therefore, what they view as 'anti-social'.

Research on ASB has further suggested that tolerance of certain types of behaviour is likely to differ amongst different groups of people in any community (e.g. Bland and Read, 2000). For example, some studies have suggested that young people gather in groups at night because it makes them feel more secure, but 'such gatherings are perceived by some communities and sectors of the community as being intimidatory and a significant element of ASB' (Berry, 2003: 12). Depending on perceptions, therefore, some people may not deem the simple presence of young people problematic (even if large numbers are present), whereas others will – regardless of their actual behaviour. This is significant in terms of both evidencing the justification for using dispersal powers and the use of police discretion in enacting these powers (as discussed in Chapter 4), as well as how the community responds to their use (as discussed in more details in Chapter 6). Depending on the behaviour that is 'causing offence', the police response to ASB can be interpreted by sections of the community it is intended to help as 'tough' responses to 'soft' issues (Bland and Read, 2000).

2.2 Measuring Antisocial Behaviour

As already identified above from the lack of a universal definition of antisocial behaviour, it is important to note that in establishing the nature and extent of 'the ASB problem', qualitative indices, that is people's perceptions, are likely to be as, if not more significant than quantitative indicators, such as the number of incidents of ASB experienced, reported to, and/or recorded by the police. As such, in addition to reviewing available crime and disorder statistics (see Chapter 5), it was important to analyse people's views of antisocial behaviour in the Parkhead area, both before and after the dispersal powers were used (Chapter 6).

However, it is worth bearing in mind that people's perceptions are not always necessarily reliable or based on any objective measures, such as direct or vicarious experience of victimisation, but are likely, in contrast, to be based very much on people's subjective opinions. For example, Scottish surveys have indicated that perceptions of the extent of ASB in local areas tend to exceed direct experience of such behaviour (Ormston and Anderson, 2010). As such a clear gap is identified between public beliefs about crime and actual crime levels, which has been a key question for criminologists since crime rates started to fall (Ormston and Anderson, 2010: 2). Undoubtedly the media play a role in the formulation of such perceptions, as perhaps do criminal justice policies and programmes developed to tackle issues such as anti-social behaviour. For example, it has been argued that 'a campaign to reassure people ... about ... ASB may, paradoxically, serve to heighten concern among

those least directly affected by it' (Ormston and Anderson, 2010:v). Public perceptions of antisocial behaviour are examined in more detail in Chapter 6.

2.3 Young People and Anti-Social Behaviour

Young people have long been associated with anti-social behaviour. Geoffrey Pearson's seminal work on hooliganism conveys this message clearly, as well as highlighting successive generations' 'respectable fears' about young people (Pearson, 1983). Research also shows that the public generally think the present generation of young people is invariably 'more troublesome' than previous generations, a perspective that has existed not just for decades, but centuries (Muncie, 2009). This association is fuelled by popular culture, and political and media discourse, but especially the latter, in which young people are the demographic group most likely to be 'demonised', 'labelled' and 'stereotyped' as 'folk devils' in a succession of alleged 'moral panics' about their deviant (i.e. anti-social), if not criminal, behaviour (Cohen, 1971), resulting in 'high levels of public fear and anger' (SCCJR, 2011: 2).

In this respect, it is interesting to note from the findings of the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey that, contrary to the message we might receive from the media, public attitudes about young people in Scotland are 'not overwhelmingly negative in character' (Ormston and Anderson, 2010: 41). Paradoxically perhaps, according to the 2009 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey, the most negative views of young people are in fact to be found not amongst older generations (aged 65 plus) but amongst young adults (aged 18-29) themselves (Ormston and Anderson, 2010).

A key argument that emerges from previous research is that, although much ASB is indeed committed by young people, most young people do not commit ASB (Ormston and Anderson, 2010). And while it cannot be denied that 'a minority of young people are getting into real trouble' (Evans, 2003: 14), it is generally agreed that most will grow out of it (Ormston and Anderson, 2010). For those who don't, antisocial behaviour legislation is argued to be useful in trying to tackle persistent troublesome behaviour and to stop it escalating into criminal behaviour and possibly a life of crime. (The end justifies the means.)

As identified above, ASB includes lots of different behaviours, many, but not all of which are commonly associated with young people (Home Office, 2004). However, as Berry argues, while 'is recognised that certain groups of young people are proportionately more likely to commit certain types of ASB... it is dangerous to root policy and interventions on such sweeping assertions... At worst, it can lead to the gradual alienation of a significant group of society, who feel they are 'always being picked on' (Berry, 2003: 12). This is particularly likely to be the case with the use of dispersal power because they mean that 'presence' ends up being criminalised rather than behaviour, although not all hanging around in groups is necessarily anti-social per se and should not be perceived as such (Crawford, 2009). This is

examined in more detail in the discussion of youth perceptions of their experiences of dispersal legislation in the Parkhead are in Chapter 6.

In his research on two dispersal zones in England, Crawford (2009) found that ‘the failure to differentiate between young people ‘hanging around’ and those engaging in acts of anti-social behaviour was a recurring theme’. This is expanded upon under the next key theme, which is the relationship between young people and the police.

2.4 Young People and the Police

A key issue that has been identified with the ASB legislation is that it allows the police to disperse groups of two or more from any public place if an officer believes that they may commit an offence or cause alarm or distress to a member of the public. As young people are more likely to be on the streets in groups and therefore ‘more available for policing’, it is argued that they are most likely to be targeted. For example, it is argued by McAra and McVie that:

the police do disproportionately target certain groups of children who might accurately be described as the ‘usual suspects’. This suspect population comprises (for the most part) young boys from lower class backgrounds and broken families, who live in areas of high social deprivation, who have an active street life (and who consequently form a core component of the population *available* for policing. (McAra and McVie, 2005: 9)

It is interesting to note in this respect that during the consultation phase for the introduction of antisocial behaviour legislation, various organisations including children’s charities (such as The Children’s Society) and police organisations (including the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland: ACPOS) anticipated potential problems with the power to disperse, whereby it was perceived to be liable to cause tensions with police, who might move on groups of young people for – to their mind – no good reason (Taylor, 2003). The civil and human rights charity, Liberty³, also raised objections to the introduction of these additional powers (especially dispersal zones and curfews), arguing that ‘the police already have many powers to deal with the kinds of low-level youth offending’ targeted (as ACPOS also argued); that the law ‘sweeps up the innocent with the guilty, treating all young people as potential criminals’ (leading to labelling and possible deviancy amplification); that ‘children have the right to freedom of movement and assembly just as adults do’ (i.e. raises human rights issues); and finally, that such powers ‘don’t encourage young people to act responsibly but presumes that they will not’ (again – labelling), with possible adverse repercussions.

³ See Liberty’s website for more information: <http://www.liberty-human-rights.org.uk/human-rights/discrimination/young-people/curfews/index.php>

Some of the concerns raised by these organisations appear to have been well-founded as Crawford's research indicated that the policing of young people within a dispersal zone can 'exacerbate fragile police-youth relations and encourage feelings of stigmatization, social exclusion and unfair treatment among local young people' (Crawford, 2009:13).

Unfortunately, this may be the start of a vicious circle as, once young people feel that they are being unfairly targeted by the dispersal powers, this has an impact on how they perceive the local police (Crawford, 2009).

Given that research on young people's perceptions of the police paints a worrying picture of adversarial contact being the norm rather than the exception in different parts of the UK (see for example McAra and McVie, 2005 and Norman, 2008) it is perhaps not surprising that there is a danger that the use of special powers of dispersal could drive a deeper 'wedge' between the police and young people. This is discussed further in Chapter 6.

From a different perspective, the police may argue that the focus on certain groups, i.e. young people, is justified by the results achieved (e.g. reduced levels of antisocial and/or offending behaviour), however research also suggests that such police 'over-targeting' of young people could result in increased offending and arrest rates (McAra and McVie, 2005: 8-9). In fact, research on Scottish youths has highlighted the existence of 'a disciplinary model of policing, one which has the potential to amplify levels of offending among certain sectors of the youth population' (McAra and McVie, 2005:26). The inherent danger of such a model is that:

...amplified models of police contact and amplified offending levels may be mutually reinforcing in certain cases. In this way police working rules serve to construct a client group for policing and thereafter contribute to the reproduction of the very behaviour among this group which policing aims to control or eradicate. (McAra and McVie 2005:27).

In other words processes of net widening and deviancy amplification may come into play, as discussed further in Chapter 6 where young people talk about their experiences of being on the receiving end of the dispersal powers.

2.5 Young People and Gangs

Although anti-social behaviour has become, to some extent, synonymous with young people, in Glasgow it could be argued that it is more closely seen to be associated with youth gangs. In order to understand why this is the case, some background information on Glasgow's gangs and territoriality issues is necessary. More so than any other Scottish city, Glasgow has long been affected by a particular type of gang structure that is very much based on territory (Holligan and Deuchar, 2009; Kintrea et al.: 2008). In other words gang membership is not so much an issue associated with religion, or football allegiances, but

rather very much a function of 'where you stay'.⁴ Such a focus on territoriality can have a serious and persistent negative influence on individuals and groups of young people, who, research suggests, may struggle to overcome such territorial allegiances, which can go back generations (see for example Patrick's classic 1973 study 'A Glasgow Gang observed') (Patrick, 1973).

Popular and media discussions of gangs tend to focus on the serious aspects of gang membership, including periodic fighting and other types of violent behaviour, although gang membership or affiliation can result in much more debilitating day-to-day difficulties as a result of territoriality issues which impose 'invisible' territorial boundaries that can impinge on school attendance and even seeking employment (see Holligan and Deuchar, 2009). In contrast, some academic studies have also sought to understand the perceived positive aspects of gang membership, which are often overlooked or dismissed in the rush to focus on the more negative activities and behaviours of gang members. For example research suggests that young people from troubled backgrounds (characterised by dysfunctional family relationships, alcohol and drug problems, but most significantly of all, by poverty and more general deprivation), may find the support of gang membership/allegiances comforting (SCCJR, 2011).

Such comfort and support extends beyond the general notions of status and friendship into the realm of personal safety in what are often unsafe environments; in other words there can literally be 'safety in numbers'. In this respect the threat of victimisation is often perceived to be central to both the development and continuation of youth gangs, and, although gangs may not in fact serve the function of reducing victimisation, they do appear to reduce anxiety associated with the threat thereof (Melde, Taylor and Esbensen, 2009). This concept of 'safety' and the 'protective function' of gangs is an important feature of Glasgow housing schemes and youth environments and is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 where young people talk about their experiences of being dispersed. As Crawford argues, dispersing young people, which involves splitting up groups, may have the effect of rendering them more vulnerable (Crawford, 2009).

2.6 Young People as Victims

Evidence of the fact that young people face issues with personal safety both within and outside of their housing schemes is found in crime statistics, which show that while 'young people are invariably seen as the main perpetrators of ASB, (...) there is however a significant body of evidence which suggests that young people are as likely, if not more likely to be the victims of ASB than other age groups' (Berry, 2003: 12). This perhaps at least

⁴ Even this formulation is specific to Glasgow and the west of Scotland: people tend not to ask 'Where are you from', but rather 'Where do you stay?'.

partly explains the relatively negative view that young people have of each other found in survey data, as mentioned in section 2.3 above.

This finding also needs to be taken into account when evaluating the use of dispersal powers, which may have the unseen supplementary consequence of reducing youth victimisation (somewhat paradoxically perhaps) by preventing youths offending against other youths through more general restrictions on young people's social liberty, as mentioned by some of the police respondents. An important consideration here is how much 'spacial and temporal restrictions' on young people society is willing to accept (Nellis, 2004) in order to achieve reductions in both youth offending and victimisation?

2.7 Policy Documents

There are numerous policy documents from the Scottish Government, the Police and related agencies and organisations that aim to provide a framework for the key issues covered in this report, namely preventing anti-social and offending behaviour by young people. They are mentioned in the report where relevant, but several key documents are worthy of note here as they offer a critical framework for tackling youth antisocial behaviour:

- 'Preventing Offending by Young People: A Framework for Action' (Scottish Government, 2008) aims 'to challenge misconceptions and stereotypes about young people's involvement in offending, alongside action aimed at prevention' (Ormston and Anderson, 2010:53).
- The Scottish Government's (2009) 'Framework for Tackling ASB' argues that public perceptions in this area are heavily influenced by the media and aims to engage the public in action to prevent antisocial behaviour through two key strategies:
 - Involving and empowering communities to address antisocial behaviour, including involvement in the identification of local problems and opportunities to participate in and influence local decision-making.
 - Partnership working for communities with communities, with all communities actually engaged by partner agencies through easily accessible means of community development.

An important aspect of many policy documents is that they reinforce a multi-dimensional approach to tackling youth offending and anti-social behaviour more generally. This requires not just enforcement, but also prevention, integration, engagement, and communication, which are seen as the four pillars of this approach (Scottish Government, 2009). The involvement of other agencies in addition to the police is vital to the success of such a strategy, as discussed throughout this report.

2.8 Diversion

Both research and policy documents advocate very strongly for taking both an enforcement and diversion approach to tackling antisocial behaviour, suggesting that the former approach will not be successful without attention being paid to the latter:

Legislating against young people hanging around on the street corners without providing anything else for them to do shows a lack of empathy and consideration for young people – and it also shows the futility ... of dealing with the after-effects rather than the causes (Taylor, 2003: 11).

This is partly reflected in the Scottish Government's Framework document whereby it is highlighted that: 'Rather than focusing on tackling the symptoms of the problem, we should be focusing on addressing the causes of the problem through preventative work' (Scottish Government, 2009).

Addressing the causes of youth antisocial and criminal behaviour is not an easy task, given the plethora of theories that have been developed over decades to try to understand it: from Albert Cohen's work on status frustration and gang formation (Cohen, 1955); to David Matza's studies of 'drift and delinquency' (Matza, 1964); to Howard Becker's (1963) development of 'labelling theory'; Stan Cohen's (1980) development of this in relation to 'folk devils and moral panics'; up to the present day critical research by, for example, McAra and McVie (2005) on the 'usual suspects'.

Although it is clearly impossible to come up with one solution to so many diverse possible causes of antisocial behaviour, as young people themselves appear to focus on the lack of social and recreational provisions for their age groups, this is one area in which it is perhaps easier to develop practical solutions to deal with in terms of preventative work, as identified in the report.

2.9 Evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of using dispersal zones: key themes

From a review of completed evaluations on the use of dispersal powers, several key themes emerge, both positive and negative.

In terms of positive themes, there is evidence that the use of dispersal powers may:

- Reduce antisocial behaviour and crime.
- Provide 'respite' to local communities from serious ASB problems.
- Play a part in public reassurance/reassurance policing.
- Provide a wider diffusion of benefits.
- Improve relations between police and young people in some circumstances.
- Promote partnership working.
- Encourage diversion.

In contrast the more negative outcomes of using dispersal powers may include:

- The stereotyping and labelling of young people.
- The criminalisation of 'youthful' behaviours, for example, hanging about in the streets.
- Young people feeling that they are unfairly targeted.
- The restriction of young people's civil liberties and human rights (for example, the right to association).
- The possible displacement of antisocial behaviour to areas outside the designated dispersal zone.
- Putting young people at risk by dispersing them to areas that are not safe.
- Raising longer-term expectations amongst the public beyond what can be achieved by an inherently short-term initiative.
- Raising expectations of performance within and from the police beyond what can be achieved given resourcing issues.

All of these issues are raised and discussed in this evaluation report.

Chapter 3 - Research Methodology

The research was designed in such a way as to examine the use of dispersal powers from both a quantitative and qualitative perspective. As such available data sets were analysed, as were the views of a number of key groups (including the police, partner organisations, members of the general public and young people from the area) in relation to the use and impact of the dispersal zone.

3.1 Analysis of Police Recorded Data & Official Statistics

Police data relating to the recording of crime, anti-social behaviour, complaints from the public before, during and after the implementation of the dispersal zone was analysed, alongside data from the same period of the previous year and the following year to seek statistical evidence of the effect of the initiative on these key crime indices.

3.2 In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with police officers involved in the initiative, its inception, set-up, and implementation, and with representatives of the partner organisations involved in the Parkhead Dispersal Zone. This latter part was especially important given the multi-agency approach to the Dispersal Zone.

Police Officers

A total of eight police officers were interviewed. These included officers involved in the set-up, development and implementation of the Dispersal Zone, and community police officers who policed the initiative on the ground.

Community officers involved in the initiative were interviewed about their experiences of participation, their attitudes and opinions, the responses of those asked to disperse, and the kinds of issues the initiative raised for them and within the local community. Senior police officers, and those with supervisory duties, were interviewed about the set-up of the initiative, the potential costs and benefits, its impact on operational matters, and the impact on the police force and local community.

Partner Organisations/Stakeholders

A total of ten interviews were conducted with representatives of partner organisations and other stakeholder groups. Individuals were selected who were involved either directly or indirectly with the initiative. Interviews with partner organisations were particularly important in order to ensure a holistic overview of the Dispersal Zone and to investigate

their attitudes towards, and perceptions of, the initiative. Interviews were conducted with representatives from a total of 9⁵ organisations (see Table 1).

Table 1 Interviews with partner organisations

Organisations	Remit
CIRV - Community Initiative to Reduce Violence	Anti-Gang Violence Initiative
Gangs Task Force, Strathclyde Police	Policing Gang Activity
Glasgow City Council - Elected Members	Local Government
GCSS - Glasgow Community Safety Services	Statutory Safety Agency
GHA - Glasgow Housing Association	Housing Provider
Parkhead Housing Association	Housing Provider
Parkhead Youth Project	Youth Provider
Sidekix	Youth Provider
Urban Fox	Youth Provider

3.3 Survey of the Local Community

A survey was carried out in the local community in order to establish the level of awareness of the dispersal zone, attitudes towards, and experiences of, it. The survey was adapted, with permission, from the questionnaire used in the comprehensive evaluation of two dispersal zones in England conducted by Crawford and Lister (2007)⁶ for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. The questionnaire was researcher-administered and involved a total of 48 questions that included demographics, experiences of antisocial behaviour and victimisation, experiences and opinions of the dispersal zone, perceptions of safety and experiences and engagement with the police. The questionnaire was piloted with a small number of people. This resulted in three changes to the wording of questions and the addition of response categories.

The survey was conducted with members of the local community as they went about their business within and just beyond the dispersal zone area. They were accessed through a number of routes: approached on the street or in a shopping centre during weekday and weekend daytime hours; accessed via local public houses and existing local community groups; and via other local organisations. Inclusion criteria for participation in the survey were that they lived either within the Dispersal Zone area or within approximately one mile of the area – a map was available for those who were unclear, and that they were over the age of 16 (younger people's views have been sought via focus groups, please see below). A sample of around 100 was sought, with a final sample of 110 achieved. Whilst the survey

⁵ More than one individual from an organisation was interviewed on some occasions.

⁶ Grateful thanks to Adam Crawford and Stuart Lister for permission to adapt their survey instrument.

was not representative of the population as a whole, it does provide an insight into the knowledge, attitudes and opinions of the survey sample living in the local area.

3.4 Focus Groups with Young People

A total of three focus groups were conducted with young people aged 16–24 living in or around the Dispersal Zone area. Focus groups involved between 6 and 8 young people, and a total of 20 young people participated. The focus groups investigated their awareness of and attitudes towards the initiative, their perceptions of antisocial behaviour, their relationships with and attitudes towards the police, their knowledge of and involvement in gang-related activity, and their perception of personal safety. A key aspect of the focus groups was to investigate the extent to which young people were diverted into other youth activities, and the extent to which either they, or antisocial behaviour, was displaced to other areas.

Focus groups were selected with young people as they rely on group interaction and exchange as a key element of the data (Morgan, 1988) and they are ‘particularly useful for exploring people’s knowledge and experiences and can be used to examine not only what people think but how they think and why they think that way’ (Kitzinger, 1995: 300). Young people were accessed through organisations working in the Parkhead area, or with young people from the Parkhead area. These included local youth providers and gang intervention projects. Each focus group involved two facilitators and used a number of set prompt questions and the use of visual prompts such as maps. This aspect of the research included groups where participants were known to one another and were in an existing social group, and groups where participants were not known to one another and did not socialise together. This combination was selected because using existing groups for focus groups has the advantage over groups who are unknown to each other by providing ‘one of the social contexts within which ideas are formed and decisions made’ (Kitzinger, 1994: 105) and therefore resembles (as much as is possible) more ‘naturally’ occurring data. The disadvantage of known groups however is that ‘familiarity tends to inhibit disclosure’ (Krueger, 1994: 18) and ‘previous relationships would make participants vulnerable to group culture’ (Reed et al, 1997: 768). Neither of these issues appeared to present themselves as problems in the focus groups conducted.

3.5 Analysis

In-depth Interviews and Focus Groups

Within the framework of the research design the qualitative data generated from in-depth interviews with police officers and partners, and focus groups with young people, was

allowed to speak for itself so that the analytical concepts developed, and the explanatory framework that has ultimately been produced primarily reflect its contents.

Community Survey

The quantitative data gathered was input, cleaned and checked for accuracy, and analysed using SPSS. Both descriptive and inferential analysis was conducted using a variety of statistical techniques.

Triangulation

Each aspect of the research has been analysed alone in the first instance, then the findings from each aspect have been brought together to examine how they impact on one another. Triangulation of methods offers a unique insight into a particular social problem as it provides corroboration or challenges to research findings, thus providing the 'bigger picture' of the phenomenon in question (Bryman, 2004; Rees & Bath, 2001). Data and research findings have been analysed for inconsistencies, corroboration, contradictions and patterns of interest.

3.6 Anonymity and Identification of Individuals

Police

In order to preserve anonymity of individuals, throughout the report quotations are attributed to 'Police Officer' followed by a number. Due to the small sample involved, it was not possible to attribute the designated rank of the individual in the write-up of the research as this would compromise anonymity.

Partners

Representatives from a wide range of the partner organisations were involved in the research. In order to preserve individuals' anonymity, any identifying features of their organisations were removed from quoted material.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Informed consent was sought from all research participants prior to their involvement in the research. Particular attention was paid to the participation of young people in the research and to ensure they understood the reasons for, and implications of, their participation. Participants' identities will be kept confidential and all data is being stored anonymously with numeric identifiers. Pseudonyms will be used in any reported research findings. Appropriate steps were taken to ensure the safety of researchers and participants in the

field. The research was conducted in line with the ethical codes of conduct of the British Sociological Association, the British Society of Criminology and Glasgow Caledonian University. The researchers are cognisant of their responsibilities under the Data Protection Act (1998) and full ethical approval was given by Glasgow Caledonian University Ethics' Committee.

Chapter 4 - The Parkhead Dispersal Zone

This chapter provides an in-depth case study of the Parkhead Dispersal Zone, and includes a review of the planning and implementation stages. In terms of planning, the justification for using the powers is considered, along with the consultation and authorisation processes undertaken by the police before the Dispersal Zone was implemented. In terms of the implementation, some consideration is given in the report to the issues of resourcing and which groups/individuals were targeted. The chapter concludes by covering the decision by the Police to extend the dispersal period and the exit strategy adopted. It begins, however, with an overview of the Parkhead area to provide the local context in which the dispersal powers were used.

4.1 The Parkhead Area

The Parkhead area is located in the East End of Glasgow and is largely characterised by deprivation. The area is represented in three of the intermediate geography zones of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD): Parkhead East and Braidfauld North; Parkhead West and Barrowfield; and Old Shettleston and Parkhead North. Whilst these intermediate zones represent areas greater than that covered by the Parkhead dispersal powers, they do include the whole of the dispersal area and the surrounding environs, where individuals and local populations affected by the dispersal order powers are likely to live.

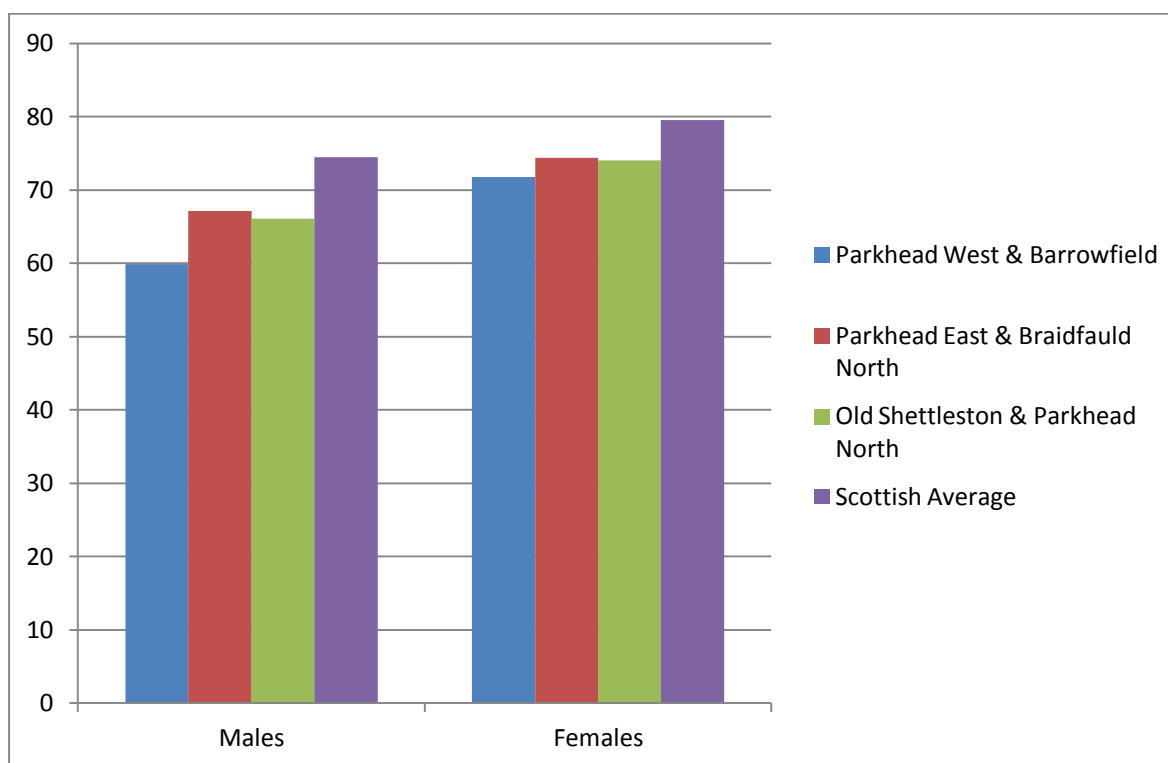
An analysis of these three intermediate zones in the SIMD 2009 shows the Parkhead area is characterised by high levels of deprivation in almost every indicator including life expectancy and mortality, health behaviours, ill health and injury, mental health, social care and housing, education, economy, crime, environment and women's and children's health (ScotPHO, 2010). For example, life expectancy in the Parkhead area is considerably lower than in Scotland as a whole: In Parkhead, male life expectancy ranges from as low as 59.9 years to 67.1 years, compared with the Scottish average of 74.5. Similarly, for females the range for Parkhead is 71.8 years to 74.4 years, compared to the Scottish average of 79.5. These figures are represented in Table 2 and illustrated in Figure 1 below. All these differences are statistically significant.

Table 2 Life Expectancy in Parkhead Compared to the Scottish Average by Gender

	Parkhead West & Barrowfield	Parkhead East & Braidfauld North	Old Shettleston & Parkhead North	Scottish Average
Males	59.9	67.1	66.1	74.5
Females	71.8	74.4	74	79.5

Source: ScotPHO (2010) ScotPHO Health and Wellbeing Profiles – www.scotpho.org.uk/profiles

Figure 1 Life Expectancy in Parkhead Compared to the Scottish Average by Gender



Compared to the Scottish average individuals in all three areas identified above are (statistically-significantly) more likely to be hospitalised with alcohol-related conditions and to be prescribed drugs for anxiety, depression or psychosis. In two of the areas (Parkhead West and Barrowfield and Old Shettleston and Parkhead North) there is a statistically significant higher rate of deaths of all ages and hospitalisations for drug-related conditions (ScotPHO, 2010).

Socioeconomic indicators show Parkhead has a significant level of deprivation that is above the Scottish average. For example, Parkhead West and Barrowfield has rates of adults claiming incapacity benefit that are almost four times the Scottish average (21.9% compared to 5.6%), a proportion of the population who are income-deprived of more than three times the national average (49.1% compared to 15.1%), and rates of the population who are employment-deprived that are almost four times as high as the Scottish average (41.6% compared to 11.6%: ScotPHO, 2010). These figures and those for the other two areas of Parkhead are presented in Table 3.

Additionally, all three areas have higher than average rates of those on job seekers allowance, claiming out of work benefits and/or child tax credit and claiming pension credits (ScotPHO, 2010). Rates of attendance at primary school are (statistically significantly) lower in all three areas than the national average, and for secondary school attendance they are lower in Parkhead West and Barrowfield (ScotPHO, 2010).

Table 3 Socioeconomic Indicators in the Parkhead Area Compared to Scottish Average

	Parkhead West & Barrowfield	Parkhead East & Braidfauld North	Old Shettleston & Parkhead North	Scottish Average
Adults Claiming Incapacity Benefit	21.9%	13.8%	15.1%	5.6%
Income-Deprived Population	49.1%	31.3%	44.2%	15.1%
Employment-Deprived Population	41.6%	24.5%	36.1%	11.6%

From the data detailed in this section it is clear that Parkhead is an area characterised by significant levels of deprivation across a wide number of indicators. In fact the most deprived area in Scotland, ranked number 1 in the SIMD 2009, is the datazone S01003279 in the Parkhead/Barrowfield area of the East End. This datazone contains a football stadium and, as is expected in areas with a high influx of people at particular times (of the day/week/year), it ranks highly in the crime domain. However, overall the crime domain carries relatively little weight in rankings, which are primarily determined by levels of education, employment, health and income deprivation (Scottish Government, 2009).

The *Understanding Glasgow: The Glasgow Indictors Project*⁷ reports data from HM Revenue and Customs and the SIMD 2009, which shows that in 2008, 88.5% of children in Parkhead and Dalmarnock were living in low-income households (in receipt of child and working tax credits) compared to the Glasgow average of 63.8% and the Scottish average of 42.2%. As such, children in low income households are far more prevalent in Parkhead and Dalmarnock than within Glasgow as a whole or the rest of Scotland.

Crime indicators are also higher for the Parkhead area than the rest of Scotland. The average crime rate for Scotland is 49.5 per 1000 population whereas for the three intermediate zones covering the Parkhead and surrounding areas identified above, it is 199.4, 79.7 and 83 respectively. Similarly, the prisoner population is also higher, with figures of 918.8, 679.5 and 804.2 per 100,000 population (age-sex standardised rate) compared with only 205.5 for the Scottish average. Additionally, the numbers hospitalised after an assault are also higher for all three areas at 399.2, 320.1 and 243.2 per 100,000 of the population (age-sex standardised rate) compared with the national average of 95.2. All these figures are statistically significant (ScotPH0, 2010).

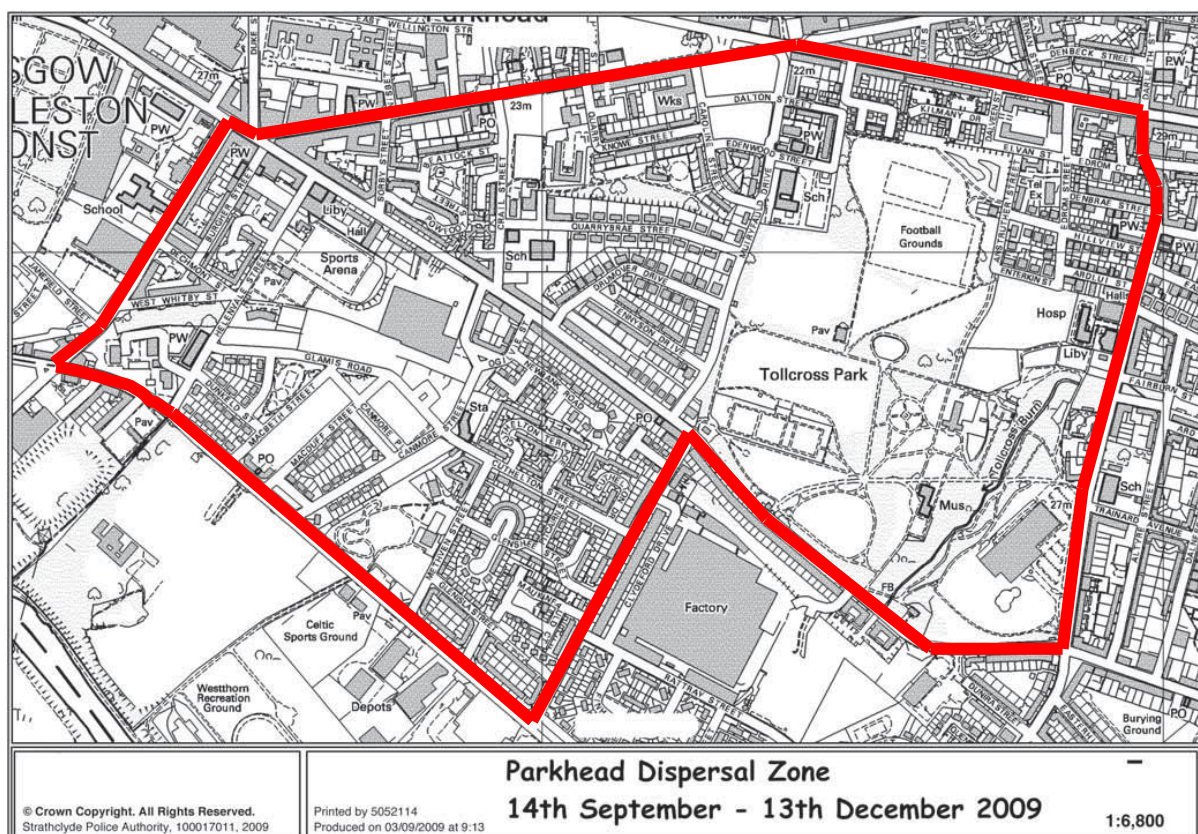
⁷ http://www.understandingglasgow.com/indicators/poverty/child_poverty/comparisons_within_glasgow

Although it is clear that Parkhead and the surrounding area, which the power of dispersal/dispersal zone were implemented in, are characterised by significant levels of deprivation, it is also important to note that this is an area that has undergone a great deal of regeneration in recent years, including the clearing of older housing stock and replacement with new by local housing associations; the construction of a shopping centre and retail park; and ongoing and planned developments as part of the preparations for the 2014 Commonwealth Games. The area also has some fantastic natural resources, including Tollcross Park, although it is argued that they are not perhaps as accessible as they could be (owing to on-going territorial issues).

4.2 The Dispersal Zone Location

The authorised Dispersal Zone covered parts of three main areas: Parkhead, Lilybank and Tollcross, as defined in the map below:

Figure 2 Dispersal Zone Map



According to the police, the Dispersal Zone enclosed several ‘hotspots’ for youth/gang violence, including Parkhead Cross (described as an intersection for three local gang ‘territories’⁸), as well as other areas where youths were known to hang out, for example, Tollcross and Helenslea Parks.

Helenslea Park was a big problem for us as well. The youth congregating in there, all drinking... You’d get maybe 20-30 youths at a time, which was intimidating for the locals and I don’t know how many times we got that park cleared up. I mean, kids couldn’t play in it; it was just covered in glass. (Police Officer 7)

Parkhead is a busy place, always, and it still had the same social issues at that moment. It’s getting better because there’s some regeneration going on... But 18 months ago before the regeneration happened, we had tenement buildings that were like bombsites, war zones and we had a real battle on our hands with some of the young element in the gangs that were in the area. (Police Officer 5)

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the history of gang culture continues to influence local perceptions of crime and disorder in the area, although not everyone refers to youth culture as gang culture. However, this does seem to be the dominant terminology used in discourses about the main social problems in the area – and hence the justification for the use of dispersal powers.

4.3 Justification for the Use of Dispersal Powers

According to Anti-Social Behaviour legislation, dispersal powers can be authorised by a senior police officer (superintendent rank or higher) where it is felt that members of the public have been caused alarm or distress by the presence of groups of two or more people. There is a greater burden of proof placed on Scottish forces compared to their counterparts in England and Wales, whereby in addition to evidence that the behaviour is ‘persistent and significant’, it must also be shown to be ‘serious’. According to official guidance, ASB is described as ‘serious’ when it presents a risk to members of the local community (Scottish Executive, 2004).

In the case of the Parkhead Dispersal Zone, according to many official sources there was evidence of significant and persistent ASB blamed largely, but not exclusively on young people hanging about in the streets at the intersection of three recognised gang territories and other parts of the area, as mentioned above. According to one of the police officers interviewed:

At the time there were the main street gangs in the area and they were causing a lot of trouble, a lot of anti-social behaviour, culminating in acts of serious violence in the street... I think the general public were scunnered, to coin a phrase, that these three gangs were doing pretty much

⁸ The three gang territories that intersect here are The Parkhead Rebels, Parkhead Border and Parkhead Wee Men.

what they wanted. We had used several tactics to try and counter this, normal policing procedures, but they just seemed to have no effect. (Police Officer 2)

This last point is an important one: it suggests that the use of dispersal powers may have been seen as a last resort when 'normal policing procedures' had apparently failed to have the desired effect. Some of the officers interviewed for this evaluation talked about the types of approaches that had been used before the introduction of the dispersal powers:

We had obviously over the years before that done quite a bit of work with the community in Parkhead and with the youth groups and service providers in the area. However, I think it had been a wee bit ad hoc and nobody had probably taken ownership of it and as a result there was wee things going on in certain areas that were helping some situations, but obviously weren't making an impact on the underlying causes there.... (T)he dispersal zone seemed a good opportunity (...) and it would give us some time to get the situation under control and work out how we were going to prevent it escalating again in the future. (Police Officer 1).

The perceived need for the dispersal in Parkhead area was violent disorder, antisocial behaviour, high levels of it; conventional policing failing, engaging with the community; various projects not making any impact; the hard core of individuals, different gang members you know over various borders ... and failing to change their ways basically. A lot of our groups (...were) trying to change their ways and it just wasn't happening so you will find with any dispersal, the Force don't take this action lightly; it's always – and I'm not afraid to say it – a last resort. (Police Officer 3)

Another police officer talked about the use of action plans and high visibility policing, but suggested that the resources required were not always available and were subject to being redirected to other priority areas at short notice:

Again you are restricted by the numbers you have and sometimes it's just not feasible. And with all the great intentions in the world to go up and patrol that area you might get taken to another area that night because of something else happening and you would have to cover a different area because of resources. So we tried everything we could. (Police Officer 2)

Some of the partner agencies also mentioned previous attempts to deal with antisocial behaviour and the sense that the use of dispersal powers was, ultimately, a 'last resort':

There was a rise in antisocial behaviour activity, violence, disorder. It was seen as spiralling out of control. We had, along with Strathclyde Police and other providers and other services, looked at a number of different ways to engage young people and ensure that diversionary opportunities were put in place. But there seemed to be a level of gang-related activity and territoriality that continued to happen no matter what arrangements we sought to put in. So we felt that we had went through all other possible interventions and solutions and we had already been through a dispersal in Dennistoun that had shown useful, in terms of giving the community respite from what they had been experiencing and it was seen as a balanced route to go down. (Partner 4)

This was very much seen as a last resort, only to be used when other resources and other efforts haven't worked. It was not a light decision, but it was the correct decision (for this area). (Partner 6)

One partner saw the implementation of dispersal powers as an admittance of failure, although they were not against the use of such enforcement measures as such, rather they were keen to demonstrate that this was, as mentioned above, seen as a last resort:

(The) enforcement element is (the) last and the final act that you take. If you have to use enforcement you've failed.' (Partner 5)

However, it was also pointed out that there were reasons why previous initiatives may not have had any long-lasting effects:

Putting in a Task Force is short-term. With high visibility policing the kids just run away, the police disappear and the kids come back... We don't do many dispersal zones (in Glasgow), we try to avoid this... It's not an easy decision, but what we had to ask ourselves was: it is the right thing for this area? (Partner 5)

Most of the interviews suggested that there was a lot of discussion about the use of dispersal powers before it was decided that this was a suitable strategy for the area in question. Lots of questions were asked by the partners of the police before they agreed to participate, but ultimately it seems the initiative was seen by many as potentially presenting a positive opportunity for the police to take a more proactive, rather than purely reactive role in preventing anti-social behaviour, as well as a means of communicating that 'enough was enough'.

'The proposal came about because we had seen quite an increase in violent crime.. The area that the dispersal covered was the cross point for three different gangs in the area and there'd obviously been a few fallouts between the gang members and things started to escalate a wee bit and we'd seen more violent crime than we had experienced before. But probably the tipping point was a shooting on a Saturday night (in August).... clearly that was not something we could allow to continue and we realised at that point that we had to get control of the situation before it deteriorated any further.' (Police Officer 1)

The 'serious' element of ASB required by Scottish legislation was met by these increasing levels of violence and – perhaps ultimately – by a weapon being discharged, which inferred a huge risk to members of the public in the area: this appeared to be the 'final straw'. Given the risks to the public, the police were keen to point out that although it is sometimes argued that use of dispersal powers could be perceived to be out of proportion to the problems being experienced and ultimately even draconian, they believed this was not the case in Parkhead:

I'm talking about individuals being shot and being shot at: stabbings; windows getting shot at and it was getting out of control and obviously there was a need to kind of ... break these groups up and let them know that there was enforcement needed there and strong enforcement. (Police Officer 3)

However, it was also argued that there was evidence of a lot of less serious, but nonetheless significant and persistent problematic disorder occurring in the area, and that public reassurance was required:

Vandalism was one of the main (problems)... the gangs all have their gang tags and gang slogans, so that was the main one... Windows getting smashed, one particular shopkeeper had, females it was, 3 or 4 females running in and out and continually racially abusing him and that went on for a period of 2 months. And there was case after case that went to the Children's Panel about that, and the guy himself said 'I'm getting to the stage where there is no point in me reporting this', and trying to explain to him that there is something getting done, it's just that we cannot do anything other than put the paperwork over. (Police Officer 4)

It's just about reassurance. It's actually about reassuring the neighbourhood that it is a good neighbourhood to live, that both them and their family can go about their business, you know, safely, they can have visitors in. (Partner 4)

We wanted to reduce violence and increase public reassurance. The dispersal zone covered a large area and lots of 'hot spots'. There were problems with under 18s hanging about on the streets and gang fighting in Helenslea Park, but there were also other elements of criminality amongst older groups, including drinking dens. What we didn't want to do was demonise young people through the dispersal zone. (Partner 6)

The point made above about not demonising young people will be picked up later when discussing who was targeted by the use of dispersal powers.

Generally speaking there were serious concerns being expressed about unacceptable levels of different types of anti-social – and indeed criminal – behaviour occurring in the area. The crime and antisocial behaviour problems facing the Parkhead area were also recognised by some of the young people interviewed about the dispersal zone, when it was noted: *'Parkhead was off its nut at the time, there's no other way to put it'*. (Focus Group 1)

However, as indicated in the review of previous research, perceptions of risk and actual risks do not always match up, which has resulted in research on the 'fear of crime' (Crawford, 2007). In relation to the implementation of dispersal zones, it is perhaps worth noting that in addition to actual levels of anti-social and criminal behaviour – and actual victimisation, many people (some groups more than other) may experience fear of crime because of what they hear or read about in the media and from other sources. As such people's perceptions of crime and disorder can be as powerful as their actual experiences of it:

The vast majority of people from any area in Glasgow are decent folk that want to get on with their lives in peace and are fed up with their kids getting chased up one street; their windows getting broken; (they) can't go up to the shops because there's a team (gang) hanging about there; the fear of mugging. It's more a fear of crime that's perceived when there's a big team standing at the corner, unlikely that they'll do anything, but they could do something and as a result people, members of the public are put off going up round there... (Police Officer 3)

This viewpoint was echoed by one of the partners when explaining the reasons for the dispersal zone. Accordingly, it was argued that there were two main reasons for implementing the dispersal zone: firstly, actual high levels of antisocial behaviour mainly related to young people (as evidenced by what was termed a 'base-line' to be addressed;

and secondly, perceptions of very high levels of ASB being carried out by young people, which, it was admitted, was '*probably slightly exaggerated.*' (Partner Organisation 7)

What is clear from above is that there was a lot of discussion and consultation about various aspects of the use of dispersal powers before the Parkhead Dispersal Zone was implemented, as further reviewed in the next section.

4.4 The Consultation Process

Although the police take the lead in the authorisation process for the use of dispersal powers, they are obligated by the relevant legislation to consult with the local authorities before enacting dispersal powers. However, the senior police officer driving forward this particular use of dispersal powers was keen to go further by gauging and ultimately gaining the support of both the local authorities and the community, as well as other key partners agencies who could facilitate supplementary action both in terms of enforcement (for example, the use of community wardens and mobile CCTV units from Glasgow Community and Safety Services) and the provision of diversionary activities (for example local youth providers). (N.B. the diversion aspect of the initiative is discussed further below).

I had to win over a number of other people...and to be fair I probably went into that thinking that was going to be difficult, and there was absolutely nothing difficult about it. (Police Officer 1)

Other participants, both from the police and other organisations, explained the importance of the partnership approach at every stage of the process:

There wasn't just the police... Ok the legislation is for the police and we've got the powers that we have, but we wanted to have the whole community involved. We weren't going to be able to do this ourselves, if we hadn't had the partnership and the legacy coming on after it we would have just gone back to what it had been. (Police Officer 2)

It won't work unless you have a multi-agency approach. You know the police can't do it on their own... The police had a clear role and responsibility (and) we need to challenge others about their responsibility because otherwise ... it's an ongoing thing where it's stop-start, stop-start. (Police Officer 3)

Having met initially with local MSPs, local councillors and a local housing association, the Senior Officer was glad that everyone seemed prepared to support the initiative: '*Right away they were all: 'This is good, this is what we have to do, we need to have some decisive action'.*' (Police Officer 1)

However, according to some of the partners, not everyone was immediately convinced of the need for a dispersal order in the Parkhead area: '*I wasn't really that supportive at first...I don't really think the police need to have a dispersal order in order to carry out their duties...*'. (Partner 4)

However, having been convinced by the police that it was *'the best way to go'* to deal with the *'hard core'* of young people believed to be causing problems in the Parkhead area, this partner was subsequently *'very supportive in the public meetings'*:

I think once you have agreed a route you have to be united... and you have to be looking at a kind of common action plan which is about how do we actually reassure the public that this is a community you can live in peacefully. (Partner 4)

Another partner mentioned that not everyone involved was initially very enthusiastic about the idea, and that there were fears expressed about *'demonising young people'* and concerns about trying something new:

I think for some of the City Council partners it was different; it was new and there was a bit of, 'well we organise what we've got, we've always done it', and one councillor was very clear that things were changing... But I think it fair to say that by the time it was up and running everyone was pretty much up for it. (Partner Organisation 7)

It was also noted that there were concerns that, if not handled correctly, the initiative could have an adverse on young people in the area:

The worry was ... it if wasn't handled the correct way by officers on the beat, that it could scar the next generation and just ruin any chance of them having a positive relationship with the forces of law and order'. (Partner 7)

Some of the partners were also concerned that if the initiative didn't work, the community would blame them and this could ultimately lead to more problems. However, in this respect, it was suggested that the police had reassured them this would not be the case, as previous use of dispersal powers had indicated it would work.

Community Consultation

Following consultation with various community partner organisations and elected members, further meetings were quickly organised with the local community, however, given the demographics of the local area, three public meetings had to be organised – one in each of the three gang areas, again illustrating the strength of territoriality in the East End of Glasgow.

... it's been that way for a long time... this sort of geographical split that the community have really developed themselves and it was exactly the same for our meetings because I was advised that if you hold just one meeting – even if it is in the centre, people will not come to that. You need to go into each of these three areas and hold a separate public meeting. So that's what we did and we got reasonably good turnouts at all three of them. (...) So that was the reason for holding three...really to try and get as many of the community as we possibly could. (Police Officer 1)

According to the police and some of the partner organisations interviewed, the outcomes of the meetings with the public were also largely positive:

Again ... I was expecting to go in and get a bit of ...concern from the residents and some of the things I thought might be an issue for them were things like the value of property ... Also maybe people weren't aware of some of the things that had been going on before in the area and I was expecting: 'Well is this not a bit drastic and maybe you could do something less than that'. I didn't get that at all. The public were just very supportive right from the start and even a couple of gang members appeared at one of the nights and didn't argue the point. (Police Officer 1)

The response we were getting back from the public meetings was very, very positive. I don't think we had any dissenting voices. (Police Officer 2)

It was suggested by one of the partners that the positive feedback at the public meetings may have partly been the result of how the message about the dispersal zone was imparted to the community:

... one of the good things about the Parkhead model I think, was learning from the (previous one) and (to) use the lessons... It was mentioned that it was just another tool in the toolbox, it's not about creating a police zone or a curfew; if it's about people going about their rightful business that's fine. (Partner 5)

However, not everyone agreed: one partner organisation thought the public consultation (that they attended) was badly managed and allowed personal conflicts to flare between members of the community:

We had the residents there that were all moaning about the young people and it was a wee bit of a dispute about 'your boy does that' and a bit personal and names getting thrown about. It was just badly managed. (Partner 10)

Another provided a less positive overview of the meeting they attended:

Aye it was interesting. You had the hang 'em and flog 'em brigade that turned up saying 'yes this is brilliant, jail them!' But you also had some young people who turned up and made the point that this was a demonization of all young people; it wasn't fair; it wasn't right. And the point I made at the very beginning was the perception of the problem amongst adults and elderly adults was that the problem was worse than it actually was. They were making the point, you know, that if there was a group of ten kids standing about does it necessarily mean that they are doing anything wrong. (Partner 7)

There were clearly mixed reviews of the public consultation process, as there were about getting all relevant parties involved in the initiative and its wider framework. Some of the partners interviewed believed that this lack of full consultation with all interested parties caused problems once the powers were enacted:

We were never consulted; we were never asked to attend anywhere. It was later on that we found out about it. And any information we got about it was through the press and through the participants (young people) and that was it. (Partner 3)

Consequently, more than one organisation interviewed for this evaluation thought the police could consider widening out the consultation process when it came to implementing dispersal powers:

...I think that they need to have a broader view of who they should be engaging with when they are going into a dispersal situation... As I say I think the idea of going through a community planning process is that the community planning staff will look at 2 or 3 youth projects that they're maybe funding and say they're the key people that you need to talk to. There's other key people, more key perhaps, and I feel that their initial source of contact, if you like, limits where they go in their consultation. (Partner 3)

We weren't a main player or anything. And I thought that was quite shocking (that) we weren't involved because we weren't able to tell young people what it was before it (started). We got handed a leaflet when it started so they didn't know what it was so they all had different perceptions what this thing was whereas if we had been involved from early we could have said to them 'it's because of the anti-social behaviour; it's because of this and that and then maybe they might have thought about it. (Partner 10)

Another partner also thought that young people in particular should be the focus of a targeted consultation process for any such future initiatives:

If I were responsible for doing it again, I think I would try to get a specific young person's meeting to try and get as many there at one time (...) In terms of communication with the young people ... to tell them about it and allay some of the fears that you know they weren't going to be pounced upon as they went to and from a club or an activity. (Partner 7)

The idea of including young people more directly in the consultation process was raised by a third partner organisation, who was concerned that the police had made up their mind to implement the power of dispersal before consulting with the community, including young people.

I had one conversation with ... a (senior) police officer and he told me that the dispersal was very much going ahead. (...) I went to the public meeting and was told then that this was to see (what people) think about the dispersal. (...) I just got it as a PR exercise. (Partner 10)

Although there clearly was a consultation process, from the quotations provided above, there appears to have been scope to widen this further to include more 'interested parties', some of whom may have ended up feeling – however unintentionally – marginalised by perceptions of a selective approach in respect of who to include or not, and this also applies to young people.

4.5 Partnership Approach

An important part of the East End Dispersal Zone initiative was the involvement of various partner agencies, such as GERA (Glasgow East Regeneration Agency), The Urban Fox Programme, Parkhead Youth Project, and John Wheatley College, who were already

providing various types of activities for young people to encourage them not to just hang about on the streets and thus keep them both busy and perhaps safer. The activities on offer ranged from games & play to arts and crafts for younger groups (5-11), Youth Club and Drop-in for 8-18 year olds, and football skills, and a weekend youth activity programme that ran on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays. For the older youths, however, there was perhaps less choice: Urban Fox ran a Drills & Skills session for 16-25 year olds for one hour a week and GERA's Employment Info Point for those aged 16 plus ran once a week for 2 hours on Wednesday mornings.

This information was contained in a leaflet for young people distributed to households in the dispersal area entitled 'There's more going on than you might think' (see Appendix 1), which listed the content, times and locations of all of the activities and events on offer in Glasgow East during the autumn and winter of 2009. Additionally, for older youths in particular, the leaflet contained contact details for further information on jobs and training opportunities, including Employability Services, run by GERA, and the East End Community Academy, which was set up by GERA in association with CISCO Systems and Microsoft to offer computer courses and training to people in the East End and across Glasgow.

These activities were also advertised in *The Re-Gen* local free newspaper, which had highlighted such diversionary activities as an important part of the dispersal initiative:

For the next three months the various agencies working alongside the Police will highlight many other alternatives for those wishing to change their lives instead of drifting into gang culture and throughout the East End there are many such diversions which basically cost little or indeed nothing, yet are fulfilling if given a try... The old adage of 'There's nothing to do' doesn't wash any longer as there are loads of things (in the area) to do. (*The Re-Gen*, 11/09/09)

According to some of the partner organisations involved in the provision of diversion activities for young people, there was a noticeable increase in numbers attending during the period when the Parkhead Dispersal Order was in place: it was even reported anecdotally that one youth provider had to close its doors due to high demand, but this was found not to be the case:

It did get busier, but we never shut the doors... We don't shut doors. (Partner 9)

When the dispersal order was extended over the Christmas and New Year period, one youth provider took the step of organising a special programme of events over that period to ensure there was somewhere for young people to go and things for them to do.

I (said) to Strathclyde Police, 'look this is Christmas and New Year. This is a very vulnerable time and you are just going to withdraw the dispersal'. You know the dispersal was going to be withdrawn, but they extended it and we delivered services all through Christmas and New Year... (Partner 9)

In terms of offering alternatives to drifting into gang culture, it was interesting to note that one youth provider adopts the approach that it is possible to use gang mentality/behaviours in more pro-social ways, including through competitive football:

We always try to get across to them you know fundamentally a lot of the kind of violence is about competition and we feel here's another avenue for your competitive spirit, you know, that might just bring you a bit more joy and a lot less danger. (Partner 2)

Unfortunately, the territorial issues that affect gang membership can also have repercussions for the take-up of such diversionary activities when they are located outside the so-called 'comfort zone' of young people. Many different initiatives have been implemented and are ongoing to try to break down such barriers, but it is recognised that the '*invisible gang barriers*' may still causes problems and difficulties for certain individuals and groups. (Partner 7)

The participation of various partner agencies was also seen as crucial to ensure a longer-term and sustainable strategy was in place to follow on from the inevitably short-term use of dispersal powers:

The next stage was to get the partner agencies round the table, get the youth providers round the table... that was obviously something that had to continue long after the dispersal and the sort of police side of things had been completed. (...) I went along to that (meeting), explained to them what we were looking for and basically again got the support from everyone. I think it had actually reached the stage where people were really concerned about it and I think they realised this was quite drastic, but that there wasn't really a lot of options there and we had to do something to give them quality of life. (Police Officer 1)

It's not designed to be a quick fix: it's planned and it's for the longer term and as I say in my opinion we should come out the other end of it with a better area and be able to build on that having drawn a line under it. (Police Officer 3)

The partner agencies all agreed that the idea of 'post-dispersal' sustainability was important:

We didn't just want a dispersal zone which would be very short-term, would bring relief to the area, which it basically did, and then the whole thing died. (Partner 7)

I think it is a danger of the vast majority of initiatives that we do in a particular area; we tend to respond to a hot spot and put all resources in and try to resolve the problem without looking for sustainability you know. So what we do now and lessons we've learnt is that's what's key, not the initiative itself but what happens after, be it whatever resources used move on. We certainly want to make that an important part of any situation we get involved in now, is to make sure there is sustainability. (Partner 1)

In this respect, the dispersal zone initiative was perceived by some to be a genuine '*coming together of concerned parties*' (Partner 7).

4.6 The Authorisation Process

Although obliged to consult with the local authorities and community, it is the police that have the final say in whether to use the powers or not. As such, it could be argued that a great deal of the responsibility for the use of these exceptional powers lies with the police. They may be implemented in association with other agencies and be part of a wider ASB initiative, but ultimately it is likely to be the case that the police will have to accept responsibility for success and/or failure. What exactly constitutes success and failure in terms of implementing these powers will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

The authorisation process for implementing a dispersal zone is relatively straightforward: once the senior officer has collected the evidence to show that there was good reason to implement a dispersal zone, and consulted with the local authorities and community, they are able to sign the authorisation and implement the dispersal powers for the prescribed time period. In the Parkhead area the whole process, from initial discussion to authorisation appears to have taken only a matter of weeks. This section reviews the evidence used by the police in support of the dispersal initiative.

Levels of Crime and Antisocial Behaviour Prior to the Dispersal Zone

An analysis of data on crime and antisocial behaviour in the Parkhead area was carried out by Strathclyde Police as a scoping exercise to establish whether a dispersal order was necessary, and could be justified.⁹ Data for the year 2008 were analysed to establish the prevalence and nature of youth disorder, the months, days and times when it peaked and to establish 'hot spots'. Although the dispersal order was reported not to have been designed to target young people, but in fact the whole community, the report primarily details crime and disorder incidents of those under 18.

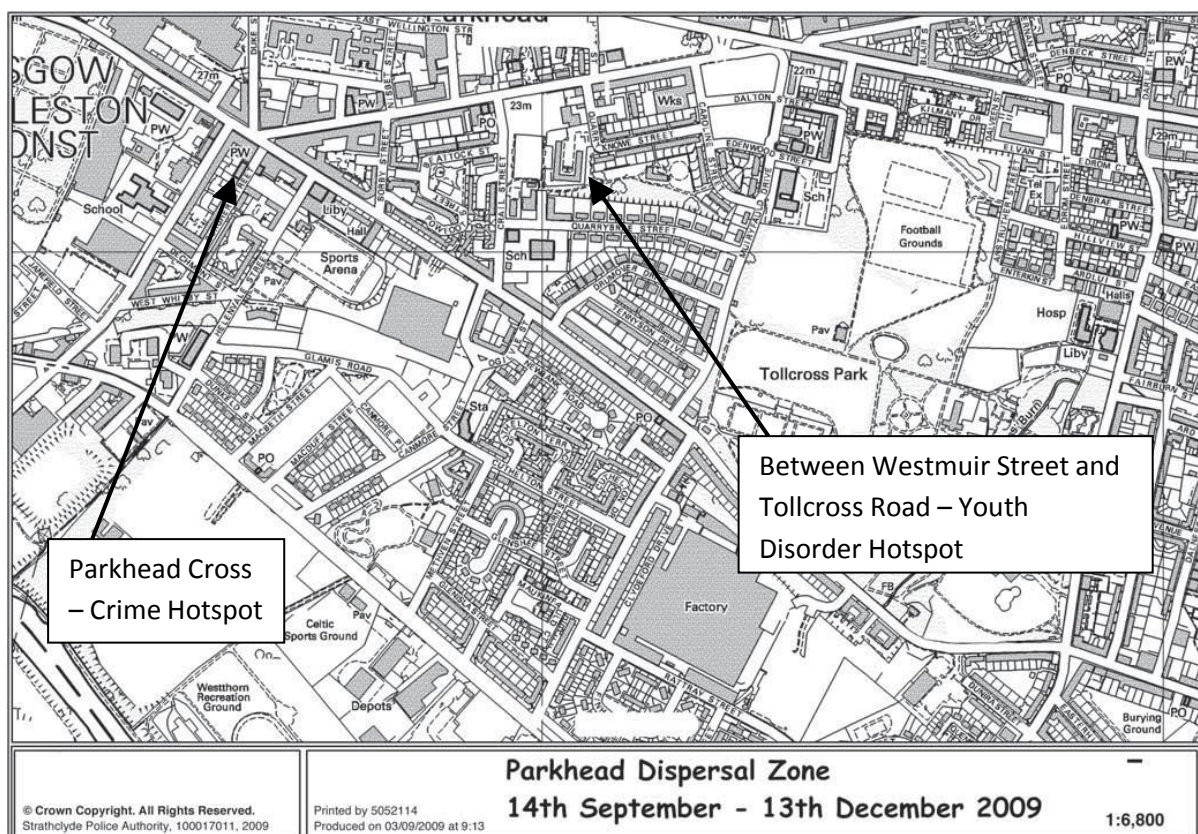
The report shows that during 2008 there were a total of 3,081 disorder incidents, with youths involved in 28% (879) of them. Analysis showed that crime had slightly decreased over the year (specific figures were not provided) and that individuals under the age of 18 were responsible for 315 crimes in the Parkhead area. Unfortunately no total figure for crime was provided so it is not possible to comment on what proportion of crime this represents. The majority of crime reported overall in the Parkhead area related to what is known as 'Group 6' crimes – this refers to miscellaneous offences including breach of the peace, simple assaults and drinking in public places – which accounted for 33% of all crime reports. Of these, 45% were breaches of the peace, and 28% were drinking in public places – most of these offences would come under the rubric of 'antisocial behaviour'. This was followed by 'Group 5' crimes at 28%, which include drug related crimes and offensive

⁹ Lamont, S. (2009a) Parkhead Dispersal Plan BA/BD Subdivision: For the Period 01/01/2008 – 31/12/2008, Strathclyde Police.

weapons, then 'Group 3' (acquisitive) crimes at 18%, 'Group 4' crimes (including vandalism and wilful fire-raising) at 16%, and 'Group 1' crimes (crimes of violence) at 4%. 'Group 2' crimes (crimes of indecency) were only 3 in number.

The report also highlighted that more crimes are recorded on Fridays and Saturdays than other days of the week, with levels peaking between 8pm and 10pm. This would be expected given that weekend evenings are the most likely time for socialising, alcohol consumption and a greater number of people on the streets. Incidents of antisocial behaviour were also most likely to occur on Fridays and Saturdays and peaked between 6pm and 8pm. The analysis showed the 'hot spot' for crime by individuals under the age of 18 was Parkhead Cross (see Figure 3) and for youth-related antisocial behaviour it was the area located between Westmuir Street and Tollcross Road (see Figure 3).

Figure 3 Parkhead Dispersal Zone Map



In terms of justifying the dispersal order under the Antisocial Behaviour Etc. (Scotland) Act 2004, as previously mentioned antisocial behaviour must be considered *significant*, *persistent* and *serious*. The report stated that antisocial behaviour in Parkhead was *significant* in that it impacts on the individuals who live there causing real fear and intimidation. The evidence for this seems to be largely anecdotal as no empirical evidence is presented in the report. According to the police, the antisocial behaviour in the area was

considered to be *persistent* because incidents had been reported for a minimum of 6 days within a period of 21 days across the year of analysis. Lastly, it was considered as *serious* because the numbers of crimes committed by those under the age of 18 had increased in the last 3 months of the year under analysis (2008), particularly breaches of the peace and offensive weapons. It was also suggested that there was significant under-reporting of incidents due to intimidation by people involved with certain gangs in the area.

Further analysis was conducted by Strathclyde Police¹⁰ in the summer of 2009 comparing a 3-month period (April to June) in 2008 with the same period in 2009 in order to assess the extent of crime and antisocial behaviour and any change over time. The analysis found a 16% increase in crime for the same period year on year, and an increase in the number of 'Group 1' crimes (crimes of violence) year on year: the severity of those crimes was also deemed to have increased between the two time periods with an increase in attempted murders relative to serious assaults. Again, this report found that crime levels peaked on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays between the hours of 7pm and 9pm, and youth disorder peaked on Fridays and Saturdays between 7pm and 10pm. The report also detailed that intelligence suggested crime and antisocial behaviour was under-reported due to fear of reprisals, in particular from those associated with gangs.

The report also included an analysis of complaints made to the police. This indicated that most youth disorder-related complaints were associated with gang fighting (sometimes with weapons), drinking in public places, loitering, throwing stones, causing general disturbance, being abusive to local residents and causing disturbances in local shops and common closes.

Although the report attempted to detail the significant, persistent and serious nature of antisocial behaviour in the Parkhead area, for which some evidence was provided, there are often inconsistencies between the narrative and numerical data presented. It also needs to be borne in mind that one incidence can often result in numerous call to the police, which may have the effect of making problems seem more serious than they are, although this is not to deny that youth disorder is a problem in the East End, as well as other parts, of Glasgow.

In addition to the statistical review, prior to the implementation of the dispersal zone a community survey was undertaken by Strathclyde Police, designed by Glasgow Community Safety Services (GCSS)¹¹. A total of 72 individuals were recruited for the survey on the street by both police and GCSS staff. Whilst this survey is not representative of the local population, and the analysis presented in the report is fairly simplistic, it is worthy of note

¹⁰ Good, R. (2009) Parkhead Dispersal Plan Beats BA28, BD53 and BD54: For the Period 1st April – 30th June 2008 and 2009, Strathclyde Police.

¹¹ Lamont, S. (2009b) Problem Profile: Community Survey Results – Parkhead, Strathclyde Police.

that the issues respondents felt were most negative about the Parkhead area were alcohol and drugs (21%¹²), youth disorder (20%) and crime (11%).

Respondents also reported a need for improvement in local amenities (9%), the need to improve youth facilities (13%) and to tackle the problem of alcohol and drugs misuse (6%). This data could suggest that for these respondents, the concern about youth disorder might be better addressed through diversion and better facilities, given their request for better youth facilities and local amenities, rather than enforcement. Local residents also reported their greatest levels of fear or worry came from youths (loitering, large crowds, verbal abuse) (17%) and alcohol, drugs and crime (11%).

Unfortunately the analysis of the survey data was quite simplistic and did not involve any cross-tabulation of responses by age or gender, therefore it is not possible to comment further on these groups' differential experience of crime and fear of crime, nor is there any analysis of respondents' fear of crime relative to their actual risk of crime. Either or both of these could be a feature of any future analysis.

4.7 Implementing the Dispersal Powers

In keeping with the guidance on using dispersal powers, the police must publicise information on this as widely as possible in the communities that will be affected. To this end a leaflet (see Appendix 2) was produced and disseminated to all homes throughout the areas covered by the dispersal zone. The dissemination of leaflets was a joint effort: implemented by Strathclyde Police community officers, GCSS, youth providers and Fire Service personnel working in these areas. Alongside the information leaflet on the dispersal zone and powers, a second leaflet on the activities available each day for local young people was printed and distributed (see Appendix 1). In this way, the message that the initiative was not just about enforcement, but also about engagement and diversion was reinforced.

The first leaflet provided to the local communities that fell within the dispersal zone was both a letter of intention and an outline of the power of dispersal to be implemented in the area. The letter of intention stated that:

Strathclyde Police and Glasgow City Council are committed to tackling antisocial behaviour. Together, we have been reviewing the situation in the area of Parkhead and Lilybank, Glasgow ... over the last year.

We are determined to resolve the issues within this area and will work together with the community to improve the quality of life for those who live, work or use this area.

¹² Please note these are valid percentages, that is the percentage of those who answered the question rather than of the overall sample, however the raw numbers (n) are not provided in the report.

It is for this reason that Strathclyde Police, in consultation with Glasgow City Council, has decided to use a power of dispersal to tackle antisocial behaviour in this area. (Parkhead Power of Dispersal Leaflet, 2009)

The reasons for the use of dispersal powers were also clearly articulated:

The information available to me demonstrates unacceptable levels of antisocial behaviour and violent disorder in the relevant locality, particularly involving disturbances between or among gangs of children, young persons and adults. Whilst the number of those involved in the disorder is comparatively small, the impact of their antisocial behaviour on the community in the relevant locality causes a disproportionate level of harm, distress and harassment: the community in the relevant locality is entitled to expect a safe and peaceful community. (Parkhead Power of Dispersal Leaflet, 2009)

The aims of the use of dispersal powers for the stated period of time were also clearly stated:

...to improve behaviour within the area and to offer respite to those within it who have suffered from antisocial behaviour over a substantial period of time. (Parkhead Power of Dispersal Leaflet, 2009)

The use of the word 'respite' is worthy of further discussion. This word is used in ASB Legislation in relation to the benefits of using dispersal powers for a community and was often used by police officers and partner agencies to explain the use of dispersal powers:

I think the people in that area had been living with that level of violence and that fear of crime for such a long time that they were just so grateful to get some respite from it. (Police Officer 1)

The community deserved respite and to feel safe and to enjoy the parks and open spaces without fear or threat of crime or antisocial behaviour. (Partner 6)

One inherent feature of dispersal zones that is often prone to criticism is the fact that they are short-term initiatives and therefore can only ever hope to achieve short-term benefits, whereas longer-term benefits may not be discernible. However, it was clear from the development of the Parkhead Dispersal Zone that although short-term 'respite' was important, an additional aim was to plan from the outset for the initiative to be the starting point of a longer-term strategy.

It seemed like a good opportunity...(to) give us some time to get the situation under control and work out how we were going to prevent it escalating again in the future. (Police Officer 1)

Distributing leaflets to the local community was only one strand of a multi-methods publicity campaign to make sure people knew about the dispersal zone and related issues:

We had to put signs on all the lampposts... so that the people that are being dispersed are aware that this is the area... We also got leaflets printed up so that it showed the dispersal area; it showed and explained the legalities of a dispersal and the sort of the specifics of that dispersal like the times... it would run... each day... and every single person that was dispersed or excluded was given a copy of that so that they couldn't come back and say 'well yeah I was dispersed, but I didn't understand why I was dispersed'. And the third thing we did regards paperwork was to get

the leaflets printed up with the youth activities that were available in the area ... (Police Officer 1)

The police also used the local media, both formally (by taking out an ad in the local press to advise the communities of what was happening and when), but also more informally by working with local media organisations, in particular the local free newspaper, *The Re-Gen*.

One of the partners brought on board was Re-Gen, the local newspaper, and they were absolutely fantastic. In the first week when we had the launch they dedicated something like six pages to us... So that was probably our main medium to get the communication out to the community as to what was happening and how it was progressing, and they gave us a commitment to have at least one page about the dispersal every (fortnightly) issue for the duration of the dispersal. And when we extended it again we did another huge piece in their paper about the extension and about how critical it was, exceptionally supportive... (Police Officer 1)

Using such a media-friendly approach was important for different reasons, but particularly for involving the community, as previous research has suggested: 'As with ASBO enforcement, media publicity and public communication are central elements in implementing dispersal orders and enlisting community involvement' (Crawford, 2008: 774).

The end results of using the media are not always positive, however: previous research also suggests that police and partner agencies had experienced both negative media coverage and public complaints about the use of dispersal powers in Scotland (Cavanagh, 2007), but this does not appear to have been the case with the Parkhead Dispersal Zone. The lack of negative media coverage may partly have been the result of getting the local media in particular involved in the initiative from the outset as outlined above. Clearly, the media has a crucial role to play, especially 'in the manner in which dispersal orders are interpreted and (mis)understood' (Crawford and Lister, 2007: 74).

From an analysis of Re-Gen's coverage of the dispersal zone from September 2009 to January 2010, it is clear that it was very supportive of what is referred to as 'one of the most ambitious initiatives taken by the local authorities' (Re-Gen, 11/09/09). Re-Gen very much championed the initiative, appearing to take on a role not just of supporting it but also challenging in their coverage any negative thinking about the use of the dispersal powers by pre-empting possible critical comments and refuting them or pointing out the more positive potential outcomes for the community as a whole. The following comments, for example, are from the edition that accompanied the launch of the Parkhead Dispersal Zone:

- 'Ordinary members of the public need not worry about this action as they have nothing to fear.' (*The Re-Gen*, 11/09/09)
- 'Needless to say many residents will have their own views about this initiative but bear in mind if there had been cooperation between certain members of the public and the Police regarding the behaviour of these gangs and individuals there would be no need to go to these measures.' (*The Re-Gen*, 11/09/09)

- 'It is the right of every citizen in the East End of Glasgow to be able to walk the streets of this area without fear and yet there are people terrified to leave their homes scared that they will be attacked or caught up in gang fights and the like. How sad is that?' (*The Re-Gen*, 11/09/09)
- This is not a 'Big Brother' exercise, every decent citizen in the area knows within his/her heart that something had to be done to get the place back to a safe environment and therefore the introduction of the dispersal zone makes perfect sense.' (*The Re-Gen*, 11/09/09)

The newspaper also helped to make it clear that this was not just a police enforcement issue, there were other partner agencies working with the police to provide diversionary activities:

- 'When you speak to the people involved in antisocial behaviour they tell us 'there's nothing to do' but this is an old excuse as nowadays there are more activities on offer than ever before.' (*The Re-Gen*, 11/09/09)
- The Police still continue to work with other agencies to give locals in Parkhead/Lilybank alternatives and an exit out of the lifestyle they are at present caught up in, and the good news is there are many taking this path. (*The Re-Gen*, 18/12/09)

The paper also included messages of support for the Dispersal Zone from all of the areas elected members, including local councillors and MSPs, again demonstrating that this was perceived by many 'interested parties' to be good for the communities involved. As supportive as the local media were, the coverage of this initiative and these issues does potentially raise issues of labelling and the unfair prioritisation of some people's rights at the expense of other groups with less of a voice or less power; this will be returned to later.

4.8 Resourcing the Dispersal Zone

Although it was not an aim of this evaluation to assess the cost-effectiveness of the Dispersal Zone initiative, it is perhaps worth taking stock of the resources required for the use of such powers. The main outlay involved included the legal costs associated with the authorisation process, which were absorbed by the Force¹³, and the costs of advertising the use of the dispersal powers, and the extra policing costs connected with implementing additional patrols in the dispersal area.

We did request some additional resources for the first two weeks, but all the research we'd done around previous dispersals throughout Scotland indicated that your first two weeks were the really busy two weeks, and thereafter once people started to understand what the dispersal's about and the fact that they couldn't hang about, it tailed off, which was exactly our experience when we implemented this one. But for the first two weeks we got a budget for it and used some overtime. But we also requested Force resources like, for example, the Gangs Task Force came down that first night, so it meant that we were able to absolutely flood the area with police officers for the first couple of weeks, particularly the Friday and Saturday nights we

¹³ The force solicitor carried out all legal work.

focused on. (...) But towards the end of it we were down to no additional resources in that area.
(Police Officer 1)

Although the financial costs of the allocation of resources seem relatively low, it is perhaps worth mentioning the hidden costs potentially associated with the reallocation of resources from one area to another – even for a short time. For example, taking officers away from one area to flood another area could potentially have repercussions for the area from which these officers are seconded. This is a type of displacement that is perhaps rarely considered in such situations. Similarly, if members of, for example, a specialised unit such as the Gangs Task Force are being deployed in large numbers in one particular area even for a limited amount of time, this implies that they are not available for policing in other areas, which also potentially has implications for these areas. However, these are issues that organisations with finite resources will always have to grapple with.

Other agencies were also supposed to be involved in providing various types of resources as part of the Parkhead Dispersal Zone: for example Glasgow Community and Safety Services committed themselves to providing dedicated patrols from community safety and support officers and mobile CCTV resources, as well as youth diversionary activities.¹⁴ Although this commitment to provide resources was very important to the initiative, some concerns were raised about the timing of their use, e.g. patrols and mobile CCTV vans perhaps not being available during the actual dispersal times when they would have been most beneficial as an additional support mechanism to the regular police and additional policing patrols dedicated to the Dispersal Zone. This perhaps suggests that more coordination of resources is required to ensure they are used to the best possible effect.

Comments were also made about the intensity of policing, not just in the early weeks, but throughout the dispersal zone period. According to police data and anecdotal evidence, anti-social behaviour, including young people hanging about in the streets tailed off quite quickly, but that was largely due to the high police presence and threat of dispersal/exclusion and possible arrest or breach, so quite quickly there appears to have been a lot less work for the officers on the beat:

There were quite a few (dispersals) and then it dropped off quite dramatically, I'd say once everybody knew what was happening there weren't as many.... You were finding that there were a lot more police in the area and not a lot happening. I mean it was great for the residents, I think, but you were finding if you were doing it night after night, you were thinking, 'I really want to go and do something (else)'. (Police Officer 7)

There is a paradox here related to the need for high visibility policing in large numbers to make sure the use of dispersal powers has an immediate effect, which appears to have been the case in Parkhead (see Chapter 5 below). As fewer potential suspects become 'available for policing', there is in theory less need for high numbers of police

¹⁴ For example, they have mobile football pitches and activities that can go into areas where there perhaps isn't a dedicated centre or resources.

officers on the beat, but in order to sustain the effect, police numbers must also be maintained. This can have an impact not just on an individual officer's feelings towards work, as mentioned above, but also raise collective grievances amongst the police in other areas of the city perceived to be adversely affected by the reallocation of officers to provide additional resources in the dispersal area.

Displacement is a big thing and it's not just displacement of the criminal element into another area, but the cops have been brought in from other divisions, so there's an impact on them... They don't go and employ an extra 30 or 40 cops to do a dispersal, they're brought in from other areas, so other areas will automatically suffer. (Police Officer 5)

In terms of diversionary activities, it is interesting to note that there was no additional financial outlay on them:

...the one thing we never did through any of this was set up any additional groups. The groups that were signposted towards were all groups that had been up and running in that area for a long time, and some of them not particularly well attended. (Police Officer 1)

The resources already exist. It's about making sure that we get good value for money for the resources that's been committed and I think that that helped in terms of focussing and ensuring that we, through the youth providers, are actually delivering what we have invested in. (Partner 4)

4.9 Using the Dispersal Powers

When antisocial behaviour legislation was first drafted, it was originally planned to be applicable exclusively to young people, however, this age-specific provision was dropped before the legislation was passed (Cavanagh, 2007). Nonetheless as mentioned in the review of previous research on antisocial behaviour legislation, including dispersal powers, young people tend to be the primary focus of such powers. For example, Cavanagh's evaluation of the use of dispersal powers in Scotland noted that: 'In most cases, dispersal powers were used to address problems associated with groups of young people gathering in public spaces' (Cavanagh, 2007: 6). Similarly in England and Wales, 'dispersal orders... are most commonly used in relation to perceived problems with groups of young people (Crawford and Lister, 2007: ix).

Although the police and partner organisations were keen to point out that the use of dispersal powers in Parkhead was not exclusively aimed at young people, it does seem to be the case that most of the perceived problem behaviour in the Parkhead area was attributed to young people – specifically young gang members – and thus they were the groups most likely to be targeted.

One of the more controversial provisions of the legislation is that it allows police officers to order a group of people to disperse not on the premise of actual behaviour, but of presence when it is perceived by a police officer that their behaviour has or could cause alarm,

distress or harassment to the local community: in other words (young) people could effectively be dispersed quite simply for 'hanging about', which appears to have been a big problem in parts of Parkhead/Lilybank;

They were just still hanging about, and it really was very much the first two weeks, they were hanging about, they were standing on street corners, they were intimidating the poor old lady that wanted to walk down and get to the shop of an evening, perhaps not by any specific behaviour just by their presence. (Police Officer 1)

Although this is seen as a controversial provision by many, to the police it is a key feature of the legislation as it forms the basis – as far as they are concerned – of the prevention aspect of the power and what makes it useful:

The added benefit of the exclusion and of the dispersal zone was that we didn't need to wait until they had committed the crime. We could disperse them before they committed the crime. (Police Officer 1)

Because of the extra powers afforded by this act, i.e. you can't hang about together if it appears intimidating to the public and all the rest of us, well naturally it's going to have a huge impact. (Police Officer 3)

The police also argued that the power to disperse was not used indiscriminately against all young people just on the basis of presence, but more so for actual anti-social behaviour:

They were dispersed if they were congregating in large groups; (for) intimidating behaviour, drinking, shouting, swearing, urinating, you name it. If it was anti-social behaviour they could expect to be excluded or dispersed. (Police Officer 2)

However, both evidence from the focus groups with young people and statistical data suggest that simply 'hanging around' was a prime reason for dispersal, exclusion and arrest (see Chapter 5 for details).

Who was targeted: The 'Usual Suspects'?

The police and partner organisations were keen to point out that the use of dispersal powers applied to the whole population, i.e. to anyone who was causing or posing a threat of causing distress, alarm or harassment in the dispersal zone:

If you were a couple of kids walking to (organised youth activity) you're walking along on your own business... it's not draconian, if it's lawful business you've nothing to worry about'. (Police Officer 2)

Ordinary members of the public need not worry about this action as they have nothing to fear. It is those who persist in creating mayhem within the area and fear of crime as far as local residents are concerned who are being targeted.... If people in other areas of the East End can live normally without people being intimidated and terrified to leave their homes after dark then surely it is not too much to ask for the same circumstances in Parkhead and Tollcross. (*The Regen Newspaper*, 11/09/09)

This was not about vilifying or demonising young people... We did not want to demonise young people through the dispersal zone. (Partner 6)

However, the focus of the Parkhead Dispersal Zone, as with many other previous uses of dispersal powers, does seem to have been on young people (see Chapter 5 on who was targeted). Whilst this could be seen as controversial and problematic, it could also be argued that this was almost inevitable given young people's propensity towards 'street life' and therefore being 'available for policing' (McAra and McVie, 2005).

From my experiences ... it was all youths that were dispersed... there may well have been some adults... but I would say between 13/14 up to mid 20s. I certainly never had any dealings with any people outwith that age. (Police Officer 4)

According to the police respondents, the main focus was very much on a 'hard core' of individuals – i.e. known gang members – who were perceived to be causing a lot of intimidation and ASB in the area:

...I don't think there was anybody dispersed that hadn't come to the attention of the police before. So there wasn't a lot of youngsters that didn't normally hang about there or anything. (Police Officer 1)

...a lot of the time it's the same faces (...) it seems to be the same people continually committing the same crimes and people look and they think: 'Well what are the police actually doing?' And this was a tool that we were saying well, listen, there is actually something that we will be able to do'. (Police Officer 4)

As a beat officer you know you've got an idea of who your offenders are in the area... There's other ones that come and go all the time but you've got your core offenders. Don't get me wrong: these people don't offend all the time, but they do cause a lot of trouble. (Police Officer 4)

Some of the partner organisations agreed with the police perceptions of 'the usual suspects':

But you could have predicted the ones that wanted to get lifted. (Partner 7)

This approach was not lost on the young people in the area:

It's only the usual suspects that get lifted, even if they are only walking. (Male, aged 17, Street Surveys)¹⁵

However, it was recognised that the groups to be targeted contained individuals who might potentially engage with the diversionary aspects of the initiative, if encouraged positively:

...in conversation with some of our colleagues in the voluntary sector it was recognised that there was a hard core element that was disrupting for those who were seen as on the periphery or getting caught up in it who potentially we could bring into mainstream activities. (Partner 4)

¹⁵ The Street Surveys were conducted by a Partner agency during the dispersal period on the streets of Parkhead. Some of the comments made have been incorporated into this report because they offer the youth perspective collected when the dispersal zone was in operation.

At the same time it was accepted that not everyone would engage:

There was recognition that there would be a 'hard core' that would probably end up getting jailed and I think that is what happened. (Partner 7)

Both the police and partners were adamant that the use of dispersal powers did not amount to a 'blanket' ban on young people being out in the streets:

They (the police) have got to be able to distinguish between groups that are there for causing trouble or a wee group of kids that are out playing legitimately within that area that might sound a bit noisy but they're not individuals causing the real problems. That sounds as though it is very targeted and, to an extent it is, because there is obviously intelligence as to who all these people were that were causing all these problems in the first place. (Partner 2)

It's quite obvious who the legislation was for and who it wasn't for, you know. It wasn't for your 11, 12, 13 year-olds who are out on the street playing football, and ok, they're maybe causing a nuisance to some neighbours by kicking the ball off cars etc., (but) it's not for these kind of people, it's for people committing antisocial behaviour, the kind of ones that are notoriously causing the problem. (Police Officer 4)

In this and other research conducted in the Parkhead area, some of the young people interviewed described situations where they felt this happened to them, i.e. they were dispersed or 'lifted' for doing nothing wrong:

I was playing around my back garden, playing football about 7 at night and was told to stop and go up to my house. I think that was unfair. (Male, aged 17, Street Surveys)

They stop us all the time for nothing. (Female, aged 10, Street Surveys)

The Police have got it in for us. (Male, aged 14, Street Surveys)

It's stupid. I got pulled up with my friend. It's pointless getting pulled up for doing nothing wrong. (Female, aged 14, Street Surveys)

In this respect, it was also recognised by the police that, as with any such initiative, some 'innocent' young people might inadvertently have also been 'swept up' by the powers, as a result of a 'water cannon effect' of applying such powers (Police Officer 5). In this respect it was interesting to note that the police themselves admitted that some of this 'water cannon effect' was perhaps caused by having to draft in officers from other areas who would not have the same level of local intelligence about 'the usual suspects' or 'hard core' that appear to have been the main focus of the Parkhead Dispersal Zone. In other words, although local police officers are able to identify the 'usual suspect' or 'hard core' individuals' based on their local knowledge – and perhaps to thus use their discretion in respect of other young people hanging about on the streets, those drafted in may have been 'less discerning' due to their lack of local knowledge about young people (Police Officer 5). This appears to tally with the views expressed by some of the young people who took part in the focus groups, whereby they thought 'their' local community officers were

more circumspect in their use of dispersal powers at times that those officers they did not recognise (See chapter 6).

Whilst this focus on young people raises issues about the potential labelling of groups of young people in this way and the consequences of doing so (as the work of many criminologists over the last several decades attests to, e.g. Becker, 1960; Stan Cohen, 1971; McAra and McVie, 2005), it was clear from interviews with the police and partner organisations that this targeted approach was not seen as problematic, but rather the logical outcome of local intelligence and a focus on the 'hard core' of persistent troublesome youths identified:

One of the things I think the police have got a lot better at is about targeting some of the people who are involved in criminal activities. You know it's not about actually just going into a neighbourhood and controlling it, and if they see crime they have to deal with it. Generally the police have got a profile of the young people who are committing crimes, they probably know who they are, they know where they live and really it's more about how do we... challenge them really, and challenging the whole neighbourhood because that's how we get public confidence. The stuff about just challenging every young person doesn't help to get the community on your side, it doesn't help the community to feel confidence about what you do in terms of the service the police offer and deliver. (Partner 4)

There is scope therefore to further investigate the inherent contradictions between intelligence-led policing and what could be perceived as stereotyping or age-profiling.

Something like 75-80% of the calls that we deal with revolve around youth disorder. So it is picking on young people? No, it's dealing with daily business; the youths are our daily business unfortunately. (Police Officer 5)

One other important issue raised by the police was the possible benefits of engaging with young people in this way. One officer, for example, welcomed the opportunity to develop a dialogue with young people in the area, which was seen to be facilitated by the introduction of the dispersal zone:

When the powers came in it was great because we did speak to everyone and we got to know everybody's name and they got to know us. So once you get that rapport and you know who they are, then it makes it a bit easier.... I was speaking to the kids more often as well because we had more need to talk to them. If they were just playing about in the park then we didn't really have any need to speak to them, whereas if they were in a large group we would go and chat to the, find out: do you know about the dispersal zone? Are you aware of what all the legislation is? So that was our way of getting to talk with them, so I think we actually had more interaction with them than we did prior to that. (Police Officer 7)

These sentiments were echoed by another officer who saw interaction with young people as a valuable outcome of the dispersal zone:

It also allows you to interact with the youths and that's a massive bit of policing, just speaking to people because you can calm situation down, (or) escalate situation. It's amazing just the power of communication what you can actually do with different people and how situations can go

depending on how you... So I would say the main thing was getting police office into the area, allowing the community to see the officers in the area and actually getting to interact. (Police Officer 4)

There was some indication from the focus groups of positive interaction between local officers and young people, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. Similarly some officers saw the power to disperse and indeed send young people home as potentially having a positive impact on their safety by taking them off the streets (Police Officer 5). However, this was challenged by one of the youth providers who argued that the level of deprivation experienced in these parts of the city was such that:

Maybe those kids are safer on the streets. That was the other thing that I brought up in the meetings, you know, they could be safer out playing with their pals than they are sitting in the house, but it didn't fit... didn't fit the box. (Partner 10)

It was also argued that dispersing young people in this way could have an adverse effect on youth groups' engagement with young people:

What it did affect was our street work because they weren't coming out to come to the door.... It was harder for us to engage with them because they were going further into places that you're not allowed to go into whether it be the park (or...) down near the Clyde you know down that way because that wasn't within the dispersal zone. They were told by the police that they (the police) wouldn't go there... (Partner 10)

These issues again suggest a lack of coordination in the implementation of the dispersal powers and a problem with their enforcement.

4.10 Extending the Use of Dispersal Powers

Initially the Parkhead Dispersal Zone was in place for the full 12 weeks allowed under Scottish legislation, however the police can request an extension where deemed necessary/desirable and this was what happened in Parkhead.

The main reasons for that were because it had been so successful actually and ... it was due to finish mid December and obviously we were coming into the Christmas and New Year period which historically is a spike for violent crime anyway and I received about 4 letters from members of the public saying 'please don't stop this dispersal right now, please take it through into the New Year'... We could have continued it for up to three months, but January/February are not busy times in that area so you know it needs to be justified. (Police Officer 1)

In the meantime, according to some sources, there were young people in Parkhead patiently waiting for the police's special power of dispersal to come to an end. According to *The Re-Gen* newspaper, 'As the end of the Dispersal Notice period dawned various gang websites were proclaiming "Roll on the 13th" and that "The Fun Begins"' (*The Re-Gen*, 04/12/09). This was corroborated by a Police Officer who highlighted that the Parkhead

dispersal zone was extended at least partly because of evidence from social networking sites whereby young people were anticipating the end of the dispersal powers:

'Ya beauty, we can't wait until next week when the dispersal's finished. (Police Officer 3)

Another officer spoke of the community's 'lack of enthusiasm' to lose the dispersal powers:

The only lack of enthusiasm I found was when the dispersal actually finished. The local community wanted to know why we couldn't just make this a part of Scottish law and why we couldn't just have this legislation in place for youths. (...) It was local businesses and (the) elderly in particular, local businesses really was the main one. When this stopped they really wanted to know why it stopped; why it couldn't be continued. Why it was only for certain times? They saw it as a – you know – it's a short stop-gap if you like, but it's not sustainable, it's not a sustainable way to go. (Police Officer 6)

4.11 Exit Strategy

In sharp contrast to the publicity both required as well as desired at the beginning of a dispersal zone, research suggests that the police and partner agencies prefer not to publicise when the dispersal powers come to an end (Cavanagh, 2007). To a certain extent this is problematic as the legislation requires the police to inform the local communities of the start and end date as widely as possible, as a result of which this information is public knowledge. However, it remains the case that advertising the end of enforcement period is not seen as beneficial, and this was certainly the case in Parkhead:

..there was very deliberately a non-exit strategy, and what we did at the end of it we very quietly walked away from it... We were very deliberately quite quiet about the exit strategy, we didn't want any publication around it, didn't want any sort of big bang at the end of it. (Police Officer 1)

Although from the police's perspective this may have been the best way to 'end' the initiative, one of the partners thought the police could have maintained aspects of involvement with young people beyond the dispersal zone period:

The police just walked away at the end. They did nothing to keep engagement with young people alive. (Partner 9)

The negative thing (about the dispersal) was that it was not followed through. I mean there wasn't even an exit strategy. They just expect organisations to pick up that and run with it, (but) it doesn't work like that because at the end of the day of course you've got a budget that you need to work to... and everyone will know that it gets harder and harder... to get funding. (Partner 9)

The end of the 'enforcement' period of the use of dispersal powers did not signal the end of efforts to engage with young people in the area. As a result of the preliminary meetings that had taken place in the planning stages of the initiative, several partners had come together to develop a longer-term strategy to tackle issues relating to ASB in the Parkhead area,

including alcohol misuse/abuse. Nevertheless some of the partners were not convinced about the success of the longer-term strategy:

The bit that didn't work was the sustainability: that's what didn't work. That's where we've got a wee bit more to do about that. (Partner 9)

When the dispersal zone finally came to an end at the beginning of 2010 it was perhaps fortuitous that this coincided with the implementation of the new community policing model, which involved more high visibility policing. Consequently, the ending of the dispersal zone was perhaps a little 'cushioned' (see statistical review in Chapter 5 for more detail).

Key findings from Chapter 4

There are several key points that come out of this review of the development and implementation of the dispersal order and more generally of the use of dispersal powers:

- Although intended to be comprehensive and inclusive, the consultation process does not appear to have included all relevant and interested parties to the extent that they would have liked or that it perhaps could have.
- The use of dispersal powers was seen by most as a last resort, even as a failure – when 'normal policing' (in the wider sense) methods and initiatives have not had the desired effect.
- These perceived failures appear to have resulted in a 'lack of control' in the community that called for a tough, but balanced response from the police. Ultimately it was seen as the right thing to do given the circumstances.
- Although primarily seen as a short-term initiative – to provide respite – there was an expectation that longer-lasting effects could be achieved through adopting a more sustainable approach to tackling antisocial behaviour through diversion activities.
- Public reassurance appears to have been significant - in terms of addressing both perceptions of crime and antisocial behaviour as well as actual crime/ASB issues.
- In spite of arguments against demonising/labelling, how the issue of antisocial behaviour has been constructed, including in the media could inadvertently have this end result.

Chapter 5: The Results of the Use of Dispersal Powers

As will be seen from the qualitative comments reported in Chapter 6 on the perceived effectiveness of the dispersal zone, most of the police officers and partner agencies interviewed believed it to be a resounding success, and gave various reasons to explain their overall positive evaluation of the initiative. Only a few pointed to any quantitative indicators, which subsequent research suggests were wide of the mark, including comments that disorder fell by around 90% during the dispersal order and was still down (in April 2011) by 40% (various interviews) as will be seen from the data presented below.

5.1 Measuring Success

There are of course various ways in which to attempt to measure the achievements of the dispersal initiative, not all of which can be assessed quantitatively (for example it is difficult to measure how much 'respite' was achieved in the community using this approach). However, this section of the report focuses on the quantitative data provided by Strathclyde Police in order to try to establish the impact on crime and antisocial behaviour, not just in the area under consideration, but also in neighbouring areas. Although the stated aims of the use of dispersal powers were 'to improve behaviour within the area and to offer respite to those who had suffered from antisocial behaviour' (Dispersal Leaflet), we were also interested in evaluating the wider impact of using these exceptional powers. This chapter therefore presents an analytical overview of the outcomes achieved by the use of the dispersal zone, including the numbers directly affected by the use of dispersal powers, and the impact on crime and antisocial behaviour, including a consideration of displacement.

5.2 Impact on Crime and ASB: Quantitative Indicators & 'Evidence'

A number of sources of quantitative data were provided by the police. These included reports written during the time of the dispersal and immediately afterwards, raw data collected locally during the dispersal zone, and raw data provided from a search of the crime management and STORM¹⁶ systems for group 1-7 crimes, stop and search, complaints and disturbances and youth-related incidents. This search, conducted on behalf of the researchers, provided data for the dispersal period and comparison periods of identical dates exactly one year before and one year following the dispersal. This allows change over time to be assessed, and conclusions about the potential impact of the dispersal to be drawn.

¹⁶Strathclyde Police's 'command and control' system.

Exclusions, Dispersal and Arrests for Breach

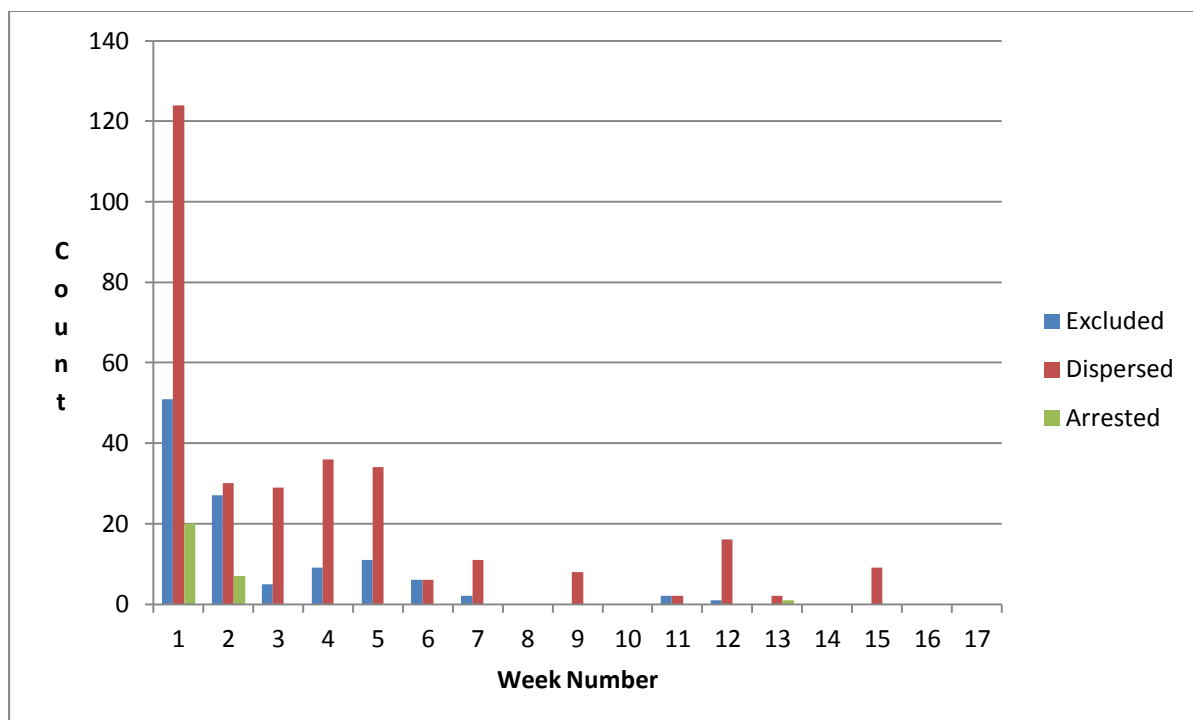
Police data collected during the dispersal period show there were a total of 115 exclusions, 298 dispersals and 28 arrests for breach (Table 4). These are reported as total numbers, rather than numbers of individuals, as some individuals were dispersed or excluded on more than one occasion.

Table 4 Total Number of Exclusions, Dispersals and Arrests for Breach over the Lifetime of the Parkhead Dispersal Order

Events	Number
Dispersals	298
Exclusions	115
Arrests for Breach	28
Total	441

The number of dispersals, exclusions and arrests for breach over the lifetime of the dispersal order clearly shows that these reduce over the time the dispersal order was in place, with all three peaking in the first week (see Figure 4 below). Arrests more or less ceased by week 3, exclusions more or less by week 7, and dispersals reduced dramatically with occasional increases throughout the lifetime of the order.

Figure 4 Exclusions, Dispersals and Arrests for Breach by Week



Who was Dispersed?

Data were not available for all of the cases recorded above, but the following analysis was conducted on those individuals where (anonymous) data were provided. There are two important measures to analyse in this section: the number of individuals whose details were recorded by the police for one reason or another and the number of events (dispersals, exclusions and arrests) recorded by the police. As one individual could be dispersed and excluded, or dispersed or excluded and then arrested, the overall number of events is higher than the number of individuals recorded. As not all of the cases (of individuals) recorded included full details, the following tables summarise the data which were available.

Data on Individual Records

Police records captured data on 136 individuals during the dispersal period, either one or more times, as denoted in Table 5 below:

Table 5 Total number of individuals whose details were recorded by the police

Number of incidents/person	Number	Percentage
1 incident	84	61.8
2 incidents	27	19.9
3 incidents	9	6.6
4 incidents	6	4.4
5 incidents	5	3.7
6 incidents	5	3.7
Total	136	100.0

These data show that most individuals identified had their details recorded once, whilst one in five had them recorded twice and around one in 25 four, five or six times. The majority of those whose details were recorded were males, with females representing only 7% (n=9) of the overall figure (see Table 6 below). However, of the 9 females whose details were recorded, two of them had their details recorded six times and one four times (the remainder were stopped only once).

This gender breakdown tallied with an observation from a community police officer that, *'it was boys and men primarily, (but) there was in the Parkhead area a group of young girls who posed us massive problems, took a massive amount of my resources in the last year that I was in the CP'* (Police Officer 4).

Table 6 Breakdown of details recorded by gender

Category	Number	Percentage	Age Range	Mean Age ¹⁷
Males	127	93%	10-48	21
Females	9	7%	14-19	15
Total	136	100%	10-48	20

As shown above the ages of people who had their details recorded by the police ranged from 10-48, but this included a much narrower age range for females (14-19, perhaps reflecting the earlier ‘peak ages’ of offending for females than males (Smith and McAra, 2004). However, further analysis of the data shows that there was a clustering of cases around certain age categories:

Table 7 Breakdown of individual data by age

Age Group	Percentage of Records
10-15	24%
16-18	33%
19-21	21%
22-29	11%
30+	11%
Total	100%

Table 7 above shows that 57% of those whose details were recorded were aged 18 and under, whilst cumulatively 78% were aged 21 and under and 89% were below the age of 30. Only 11% were aged 30 or over. This may be a reflection of a predisposition of these age groups to socialise on the streets and be involved in anti-social behaviour, and thus be ‘available for policing’ (McAra and McVie, 2005); and/or a focus during the dispersal period on these particular behaviours or indeed age groups (in spite of arguments to the contrary).

Data Provided on Events Recorded

At least some details on 244 events were provided by the police including 179 dispersals, 41 exclusions and 24 arrests (Table 8).

¹⁷ N.B. The age category was missing from 3 cases in the original data, hence the data in the final column is based on know data only.

Table 8 Total numbers of events for which data were provided by the police

Event	Number	Percentage
Dispersals	179	73%
Exclusions	41	17%
Arrests	24	10%
Total events	244	100%

Dispersals and Exclusions

Although not all of the reasons for dispersals and exclusion were noted, Table 9 below gives an indication of the main reasons that were recorded by the police:

Table 9 Number and percentage of dispersals and exclusions by reason recorded¹⁸

Reason recorded	Number Dispersed	Percentage Dispersed	Number Excluded	Percentage Excluded
Anti-Social Behaviour	71	53%	22	67%
Likely to cause ASB	22	16%	1	3%
Street drinking	13	10%	1	3%
Disorderly crowd	13	10%		
Possession of alcohol	4	3%	1	3%
Looking to buy alcohol	2	1%		
Disorderly conduct	2	1%	2	6%
Loitering	2	1%		
Being in a group	2	1%	3	9%
Possession of drugs	1	1%		
Breach of peace	1	1%		
Being on roof of library	1	1%	1	3%
Shouting/swearing	1	1%	2	6%
Totals	135	100	33	100%

¹⁸ These data only include those cases where a reason was noted; hence overall numbers do not match with total events provided earlier in this section.

Given that the main focus of the use of dispersal powers, the high incidence of anti-social behaviour-type behaviours as the main reasons for both dispersal and exclusion is not surprising.

Arrests

Not all of the reasons for arrest were recorded, but of the 18 cases that were, 8 were arrested for failure to disperse/comply with order to disperse and 4 for anti-social behaviour. These and the other reasons for arrest are recorded in Table 10 below:

Table 10 Number and percentage of arrests by reason recorded

Reason recorded	Number of arrests	Percentage
Failure to disperse/comply	8	44%
ASB	4	22%
Likely to cause ASB	2	11%
Breach of order	2	11%
Disorderly conduct	1	6%
Breach of the peace	1	6%
Totals	18	100%

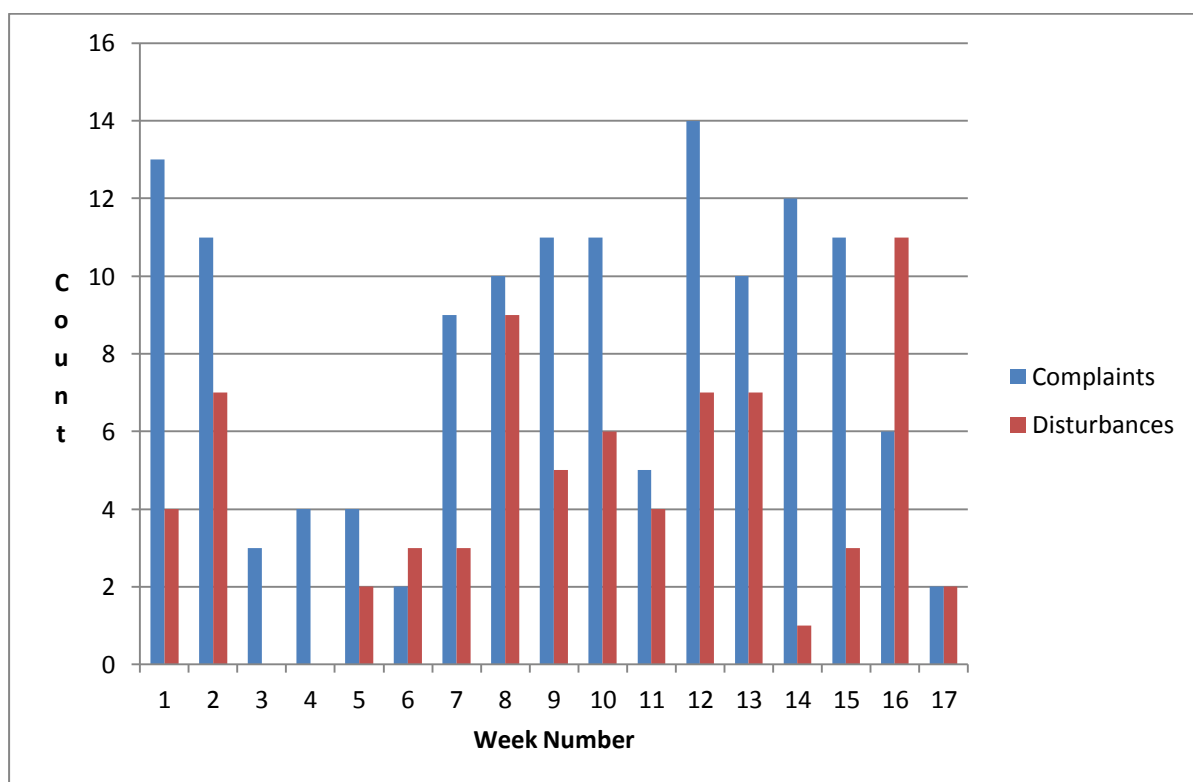
Although incomplete (owing to a lack of records), the data presented and analysed above indicate a clustering around the relatively younger age groups and young males in particular. They also indicate that there were some individuals who could be considered repeat offenders (or repeatedly targeted?) which suggests that, in their cases, the use of dispersal powers did not have the intended effect of prevention or reduction for one reason or another (see focus group discussion in Chapter 6 for more details). However, given the ‘zero tolerance’ approach reported by police in relation to arrest for breach, the fact that only 28 people were arrested does suggest some success in preventing any escalation of anti-social behaviour in some cases. However, it is also interesting to note that more than half of all arrests were not for antisocial behaviour per se, but rather for the technical breach of the order – that is failure to disperse or comply and being suspected of likely to cause ASB, rather than for any actual offending behaviour.

Complaints and Disturbances

Police data show that the level of complaints and disturbances were not greatly affected during the dispersal order. With the exception of a reduction in both complaints and

disturbances in weeks 3 and 4 of the dispersal (see Figure 5), figures remained reasonably consistent throughout. Complaints per week ranged from 3 to 14 and disturbances per week ranged from zero (weeks 3 and 4) to 11. These findings are consistent with previous research (e.g. Crawford, 2007) that shows perceptions of antisocial behaviour and crime are not necessarily affected by actual reductions in incidence (see also various sweeps of the Scottish Crime and Victimisation Surveys (now the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey) and the British Crime Surveys). Research also suggests that the increased media coverage and public awareness during dispersal orders may also result in increased reporting – as such it is possible for there to be less public disorder but more calls logged by the police (Cavanagh 2007).

Figure 5 Complaints and Disturbances by Week



Stop and Search Data

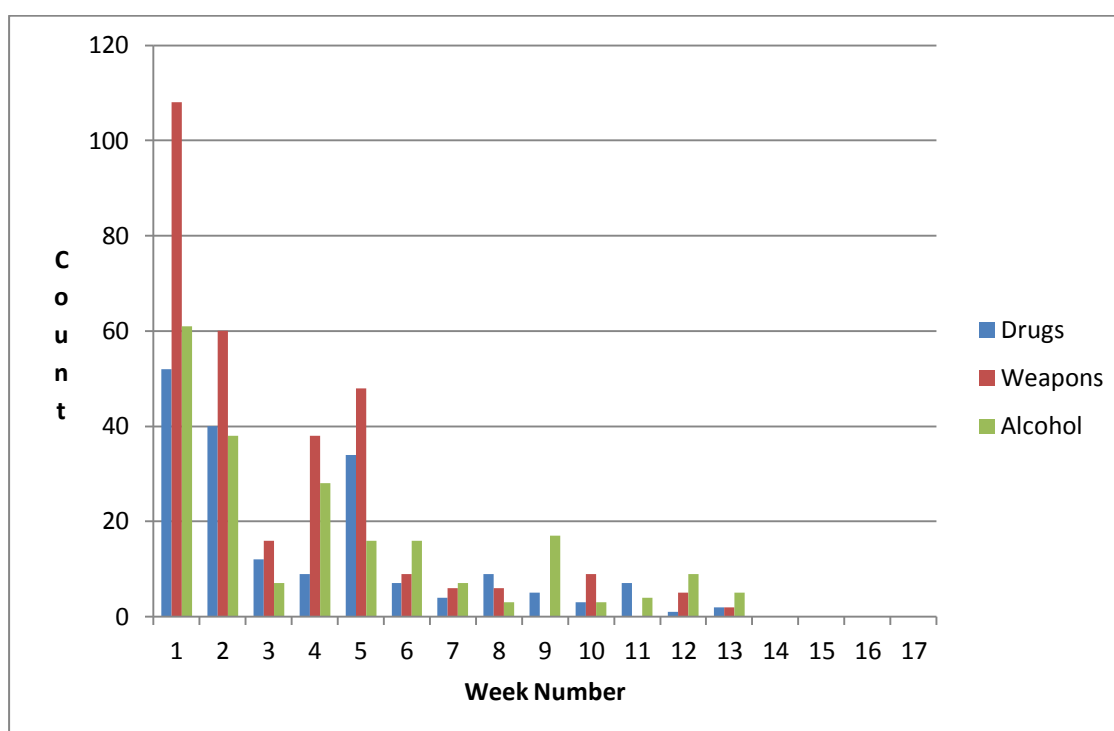
Data for stops and searches conducted in the area during the dispersal order was provided by the Police. The data shows that the numbers of stops and searches was at its highest in the first two weeks of the dispersal (see Table 11 below). This is to be expected at the outset of the initiative, as the local population would not yet be familiar with the terms of the order and more people would be likely to be on the street. There was also a higher police presence in the area at the early stages of the dispersal order. Those stopped and searched were most likely to be stopped on suspicion of carrying a weapon, then of having alcohol, and lastly for possession of drugs. There were a total of 221 stops and searches in the first

week of the dispersal order and these reduced to a zero level for the last 3 weeks and 2 days of the initiative. This stop and search data is graphically illustrated in Figure 6 below.

**Table 11 Stop and Search Data by Reason
during the Lifetime of the Dispersal**

Week	Drugs	Weapons	Alcohol
Week 1	52	108	61
Week 2	40	60	38
Week 3	12	16	7
Week 4	9	38	28
Week 5	34	48	16
Week 6	7	9	16
Week 7	4	6	7
Week 8	9	6	3
Week 9	5	0	17
Week 10	3	9	3
Week 11	7	0	4
Week 12	1	5	9
Week 13	2	2	5
Week 14	0	0	0
Week 15	0	0	0
Week 16	0	0	0
Week 17	0	0	0
Total	185	307	214

Figure 6 Stop and Search Data by Reason during the Lifetime of the Dispersal



Strathclyde Police's Analysis of Dispersal Effectiveness

In order to establish the effectiveness of the dispersal Strathclyde Police¹⁹ conducted their own analysis on crime and disorder incidents during the dispersal period and compared them to the same time period the year before (14/09/2008 – 03/01/2010) and the 16-week period immediately prior to the dispersal (25/05/2009 - 13/09/2009). It should be noted that whilst comparisons with the 16-week period prior to the dispersal may be interesting, there is always the role of seasonal variation to take into account, especially given that much of the dispersal period ran over the winter, when crime and disorder is likely to drop. Unfortunately the document provided by the police that details their analysis contains several incidences of misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the data (for example reporting overall increases or decreases where this is not the case, and reporting reductions from 1 crime to zero crimes as a 100% reduction, which is misleading) and any analysis for future initiatives would benefit from being more thorough. Interestingly, the document contains no data on potential displacement during the dispersal period, neither geographical, offence-type, nor temporal. In fact, the report only includes crimes and incidents that occurred during the times of the dispersal (i.e. 6pm – 1am Monday to Thursday and 4pm – 2am Friday to Sunday). This limited analysis means any opportunity to assess temporal displacement during the dispersal zone is lost. Given that no analysis on

¹⁹ MacDonald, E. (2010) Parkhead Dispersal Order Results BA Subdivision: For the Period 14/09/2009 – 03/01/2010, Strathclyde Police.

displacement appears to have been done on the dispersal, it is difficult to know how some of the interviewees reached the conclusion that there was 'no displacement'.

The data in the report relating to Groups 1-6 crimes were subjected to additional analysis by ourselves, and show that crime levels during the dispersal reduced by 5.4% (from 130 to 123) compared to the 16-week period before the dispersal, but had increased by 14.9% (from 107 to 123) compared to the same time period the previous year. This suggests that there was no significant reduction in general crime rates as a result of the dispersal zone, contrary to anecdotal claims of a significant reduction.

Where there are significant enough levels of incidence to make meaningful statements about increases or reductions, it is clear that there were changes in some crime and incident types. For example, data show a 50% (from 18 to 9) reduction in crimes of vandalism compared to both the 16-week period before the dispersal zone, and the same period the year before. Reductions in incidents relating to drinking in public places and property damage are also evident. However some crime and incident types show marked increases. For example, offences relating to the misuse of drugs increased by 80% (from 10 to 18) compared to the 16-week period before the dispersal and 157% (from 7 to 18) compared to the previous year. Minor assaults (from 8 to 12), obstructing or resisting arrest (from 2 to 7) and assaults on police officers (from 1 to 4) also increased year on year. Breaches of the peace reduced slightly during the dispersal period compared to the 16-week period beforehand (from 36 to 31, -14%) but increased year on year from 18 to 36 (+100%). The number of offenders arrested for crimes during the dispersal period also increased compared to the two other time periods. There was a 59% increase year on year (from 46 to 73) and a 12% increase compared to the 16-week period before (65 to 73). This higher rate of detection and arrest could be explained by the higher number of police officers in the area during the dispersal area.

Youth-related incidents showed a clearer pattern of reductions during the dispersal compared to the 16 weeks prior to the dispersal and the year before. For example, disturbances reduced from 13 the year before, and from 10 during the 16-week period before, to 6 during the dispersal. Drinking in public places also reduced from 12 (previous year) and 11 (16 weeks before dispersal) to 3 during the dispersal period. The report draws the conclusion that 'Compared to the other two periods, disorder crime increased overall but youth/disorder incidents decreased.' (MacDonald, 2010: 4). Given this overall picture, it is difficult to understand where the reported 90% reduction in crime cited anecdotally by some interviewees came from.

Evaluating the Success of the Dispersal through Year-on-Year Analysis

In order to establish the potential effectiveness of the dispersal zone and to conduct our own analysis the research team requested raw data from Strathclyde Police's crime management and STORM (command and control system that records incidents) systems. In order to make year-on-year comparisons that would not be subject to seasonal variation, data for the identical 16-week period the year before the dispersal (2008), the year of the dispersal (2009) and the year following the dispersal (2010) were requested for the dispersal zone area for Group 1-7 crimes, complaints and disturbances, stop and search, and youth incidents. In order to make an assessment of potential geographical displacement during the dispersal, the same data were requested for all beats bordering the dispersal zone area. This data was subjected to descriptive analysis. Unfortunately, these latter data were provided by the Police in an aggregated format and therefore cannot be analysed on a beat-by-beat level, but nonetheless they provide a useful overall picture.

The crime data provided (see Table 12 below) clearly show that a greater amount of crime was recorded in the dispersal zone area during the dispersal zone time period when compared to the previous year, and the following year. This is most likely a result of the increased numbers of police officers in the area, leading to greater detection rates, but also possibly increased reporting as a result of greater community confidence:

It increased the confidence of people reporting. So if you look at actual crimes, if you look at some of the stats there was a rise in some of them because you had more police on the beat; you had more stop and searches probably for a valid reason obviously; you also had the public making more calls so we always say that if we went into an action plan, any kind of action plan, not just dispersal, you should have an initial rise because you've got increased confidence.
(Partner 5)

The very small change in crime levels in the bordering beats year-on-year suggests that geographical displacement did not take place (this is discussed in more detail below). There were similar reductions in recorded crime the year after the dispersal for the dispersal area (-15.9%) and the bordering beats (-14.3%) suggesting either less criminal activity in these areas and/or lower levels of detection, potentially as a result of changes in policing practice.

Table 12 Groups 1-7 Crimes for the Dispersal Zone and Bordering Beats Over 3 Years

Groups 1-7 Crimes	Dispersal Zone	Bordering Beats
Year Before	651	1179
Dispersal Period	708 (+8.7%)	1171 (-0.6%)
Year After	595 (-15.9%)	1003 (-14.3%)

During the dispersal time period there was a 9.6% reduction in complaints and disturbances compared to the previous year (see Table 13). This is likely to be a result of increased police

visibility: by covering the dispersal zone with more police, it may in turn have the effect of reducing the number of phone calls from the public because the perception is that there are more police on the streets to deal with issues as and when they arise. The increase in complaints and disturbances recorded in the bordering beats (1.68%) is too small to suggest anything other than chance. Essentially what the data presented above show is that the figures reported by police officers during interview (for example, an 88% reduction in crime as a result of the dispersal) is not empirically evident.

**Table 13 Incidents (Complaints and Disturbances)
for the Dispersal Zone and Bordering Beats Over 3 Years**

Incidents (C&D)	Dispersal Zone	Bordering Beats
Year Before	403	474
Dispersal Period	364 (-9.6%)	482 (+1.68%)
Year After	430 (+18%)	464 (-3.7%)

There was a significant increase in the number of stop searches in the bordering beats (205%) in line with a similar increase for the dispersal area (239%) (see Table 14) which suggests this represents a change in policing practices in the area more generally, rather than specifically being caused by the dispersal. These large increases are most likely indicators of the increased community policing in the area as mentioned above. The higher rate of increase in stop searches in the dispersal area is likely to be caused by the use of dispersal powers and the increased numbers of police in that particular area. The number of stop and searches being carried out the year following the dispersal suggest a high level of policing in the area still.

Table 14 Stop and Search for the Dispersal Zone and Bordering Beats Over 3 Years

Stop & Search	Dispersal Zone	Bordering Beats
Year Before	346	328
Dispersal Period	1173 (+239%)	1001 (+205%)
Year After	1201 (+2.38%)	1114 (+11.3%)

More marked changes in levels of youth incidents are observed during the dispersal time period (see Table 15). For the dispersal area, youth incidents halved (-50.5%) in comparison with the same period the year before, and whilst levels did increase the following year (21.6%) the total remained 39.8% lower than the corresponding rate recorded for the year before the dispersal. During the dispersal period a small reduction in youth incidents was observed in the bordering beats, suggesting no geographical displacement took place, and that the reduction in these bordering areas may also have been as a result of the dispersal

zone and younger people having less freedom of movement (see discussion of displacement below). Figures also show a significant decrease in the number of youth incidents the year after the dispersal zone in the bordering beats. This reduction of 43.6% is quite significant, and may be the overall result of an increased police presence in the area and the use of different policing tactics.

Table 15 Youth Incidents (STORM) for the Dispersal Zone and Bordering Beats Over 3 Years

Youth Incidents	Dispersal Zone	Bordering Beats
Year Before	103	83
Dispersal Period	51 (-50.5%)	78 (-6%)
Year After	62 (+21.6%)	44 (-43.6%)

Evaluating Displacement

Although (as will be seen below) the Police talked anecdotally about the lack of displacement during the Parkhead Dispersal, there is no apparent analysis or discussion of displacement in any of the results documents provided by the police. Our analysis of the dispersal data area and the surrounding beats (presented in Tables 12-15 above) which compares the dispersal time period with the year before for the bordering beats shows only very small changes in the levels of crime, incidents and youth incidents, with levels actually dropping for crime and youth incidents. This suggests that displacement into surrounding areas was not a problem associated with this particular dispersal zone. There are several reasons why this may be the case, as discussed in greater detail in the next section.

5.3 Crime Displacement

A key concern with many crime prevention initiatives is the potential displacement effect they can have either in terms of target, time or place (Clarke, 1997). Such concerns have been raised about the potential displacement effect of Dispersal Orders, but they tend to focus on the issue of place, i.e. the main concern is that any person/group dispersed or excluded from the dispersal zones would relocate to other areas outside of the zone and continue to cause the types of problems the initiative was seeking to prevent, rather than temporal or crime type displacement.

Previous studies of the use of dispersal powers reveal mixed results in terms of displacement: whereas in England and Wales, 'research ... revealed considerable displacement effects of crime and anti-social behaviour...despite police efforts to forestall displacement' (Crawford and Lister, 2007:50), in Scotland 'most forces found no significant

evidence of this... The police did not identify displacement as a significant issue for them on a wider operational level in command and control systems' (Cavanagh, 2007: 11).

In relation to the Parkhead Dispersal Zone, displacement:

...was something a number of partner agencies had raised, and what the agreement was was that we would police the (sort of) surrounding area...so that we could monitor if there was displacement and we could deal with it very quickly. (Police Officer 1)

When one of the partners was asked if the organisation had any concerns about the initiative before it began, the issue of displacement was quickly identified:

Some folk did think it would merely move the problem. I didn't because I'd seen it happen elsewhere and there is tight controls put in to make sure of that, because if that is all that happens then it's a complete and utter waste of time. I personally wasn't worried about it. (Partner 1)

Previous experience of dispersal zones in Glasgow seemed to provide partner agencies with assurances that there would not be any displacement:

...we had that discussion (about displacement) ... and we watched that really closely because that was the accusation that they were going to be displaced elsewhere and there was absolutely no evidence of displacement at all. So we weren't overly concerned about displacement, however we recognised that we would need to be mindful and to be active. (Partner 4)

According to both the police and partners, initially only two areas were to be included, but early concerns about displacement into the Tollcross Park area resulted in it also being included in the Dispersal Zone. To some extent it could be argued that displacement was designed out through the widening of the area designated under the dispersal zone.

There was a big fear at the start from all the senior officers in the other areas that there was going to be displacement and I think that's why the geographical size moved and got a bit bigger. (Police Officer 2)

The area was quite a large area. They've had a dispersal zone in Dennistoun which is a much smaller geographical area, much more condensed whereas (...) the original Parkhead zone was much smaller than it ended up being because (...) if you just have it as that box then it is only a street away and you're moving them out and only targeting that small geographical zone which contained the Parkhead Rebels only. But all you would do is move them across the road to other gang territories which would cause tensions and territorial issues so that's why the area ended up as spread over a bigger area; so that allowed us to target all gangs in the area rather than just one. (Partner 8)

Not all of the officers involved, however, agreed that this expansion was a good idea:

...it grew arms and legs, the area got bigger and bigger...the dispersal zone should only be for a small area and a few streets... (Police Officer 2)

Concerns about displacement therefore may have contributed to the area covered expanding, but it also meant that surrounding areas were monitored closely for signs of displacement:

...we used to keep an eye on the instance as a whole because if there was displacement we were ready to put resources where the displacement was coming. (Police Officer 2)

Evidence of Displacement

According to anecdotal evidence from the police there was very little, if any, evidence of displacement from the Parkhead area:

We experienced one incident of displacement, which to be fair I couldn't prove to you was displacement, but I think that's what it was. (Police Officer 1)

There wasn't a great deal of displacement; there was loads of concern about it – that one of the main concerns that I came across at the planning stages of it. There was a lot of questions asked about how this is going to go, you know, a couple of hundred yards down the road. With the Parkhead one (...) there's nothing that reminds me that there was a real problem in other areas...
(Police Officer 3)

This appears to be corroborated by our analysis of data provided by the Police, which indicated no sign of geographical crime displacement. One reason for this could be the geography of the areas covered by the dispersal powers as well as issues of (gang) territoriality, which are argued to militate against displacement in the Parkhead area, perhaps in rather a unique way:

If you had a look round the area... if you came this way all you had was Celtic Park and then you had to keep going before you got to the Barrowfield and Gallowgate and the gangs wouldn't come down as far as that. If you went the other way you were into across London Road and heading towards the Clyde Walkway and we always had cycle patrols down the Clyde Walkway as well and then further up you are into Shettleston so it was a wide area but they were kind of boxed in a wee bit as well, so we never saw too much displacement. (Police Officer 2)

I think the fact that we didn't have displacement could be about territoriality. I think that the individuals, the mentality of the individuals that we were dealing with was very much don't leave your own area and if you leave your own area....then you put yourself at risk because of the other gangs in the area. (Police Officer 1)

My own opinion is that the gangs were so tight in their own area that they were ending up going to each other's house and staying in because displacement would have taken them into a different gang area and they knew that that was taboo and they wouldn't have gone there.
(Partner 2)

The beauty of territoriality in Glasgow is that you don't tend to get displacement (as) unfortunately... young men particularly don't travel across boundaries. (Partner 4)

There was displacement, but I don't think it was that bad because the beauty, or the worrying factor of ... the East End of Glasgow, Parkhead, is that it is very territorialised. (Police Officer 5)

A lot of the guys don't travel outside of their own specific area, because we made the zone that much bigger it meant if they moved away outside that zone they were going way outside their comfort zone, so they tended not to (...) So in effect because it was made bigger it was actually easier to handle in a kind of backward way. (Partner 8)

The restricting impact of gang territoriality seemed to be confirmed by interviews with young people:

If you canna go out the scheme then you canna go out of it no matter what people say.' (Focus Group 1)

Aye, once they disperse you, you canna go out of it so you don't, know? If they go 'You're dispersed' you either have tae go hame or you have tae just hide the rest of the night. Say you get dispersed at whatever, 5 o'clock in the day or something, that's you in the rest of the night – a Friday night you canna go anywhere! (Focus Group 1)

'Managed' Displacement

Contrary to perceived wisdom, it is worth noting that not all displacement is seen to have negative implications. For example, previous research suggests that where antisocial behaviour is displaced to non-residential areas, this effectively removes the threat of 'intimidation, harassment and alarm' and therefore negates or dissipates 'presence' as a potential or immediate threat to the public. In this respect it has been suggested that the police themselves may make a distinction between 'displacement of behaviour and displacement of disorder' (Cavanagh, 2007: 80).

It is possible for groups to congregate in other locations but this may not necessarily represent displaced antisocial behaviour if the group is congregating away from residential areas or if topographical features prevent the effects of behaviour, such as noise, vandalism, litter etc. from being felt by members of the public' (...) Police often mentioned in interviews that they were not so concerned about moving the behaviour to other locations that were not located close to residential areas. Their aim was to relieve public distress; the managed displacement of the behaviour to other, less visible, areas was a satisfactory outcome for police. This addressed the antisocial aspects of the behaviour. (Cavanagh, 2007: 80).

There was some evidence that this may have occurred in Parkhead to a certain extent: one group of young people interviewed spoke of a 'community cop' who had told them where to move to in order to be outside the dispersal zone and not attract attention to them. The young people perceived this as leniency on the part of the officer in question; whereas it could be argued that this was a form of 'managed displacement', which contributed to the relief of public distress without unduly antagonising or alienating the youths in question.

'Community police... he just done that to us... he didn't like it, he thought it was shite man... (He told us) to go to a certain bit down there... we took the back roads...he told us to go doon there and drink cos that was ootside his dispersal zone'. (Focus Group 1)

However benign it may appear, such managed displacement may potentially have negative outcomes for young people dispersed or excluded under ASB Legislation: for example, according to Crawford (2009: 12): 'In the absence of alternative meeting places....dispersing them from safe, central locations and making them split up was likely to render them more, rather than less, vulnerable as they were both displaced to less safe areas and dispersed from the safety of groups'. In areas characterised by territoriality, the repercussions of dispersal are potentially more harmful to young people, which they raised in the focus groups:

'but then that's it, I mean you're out your scheme, you're out your comfort zone. Even heading home you're mad with it, you know what I mean, you might get involved in some form of fighting because you've got to come back home when you've been split up ... and if you're on your own in someone else's scheme...' (Focus Group 1)

It's ok for the police to walk about in twos as they said it's for their own safety, but if we do it for our own safety, it's antisocial behaviour. Where's the fairness in that? (Male, aged 17, Street Survey)

Perceptions of 'fairness' will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Key findings from Chapter 5

In terms of methods:

- Anecdotes are not 'evidence': they do not tell the whole story and cannot be relied upon solely to indicate success.
- There is a danger when anecdote takes the place of empirical evidence that it becomes 'fact', apparently gaining the status of truth by sheer force of repetition.
- There are different ways of measuring 'success': as useful as quantitative measure may be, they cannot tell the whole story either and qualitative measures also have to be taken into account.
- By their very nature, statistical data provide scope (albeit not necessarily deliberately) for misinterpretation and misunderstanding.

In terms of findings:

- General crime rates do not appear to have been affected by the dispersal order, however, some crime types generally associated with young people were.
- Youth-related offences fell by 51% during the dispersal period and although they subsequently increased by around 22%, they remained the following year around 40% lower than before the dispersal powers were used.
- Level of complaints and disturbances were not affected by the dispersal order.
- The level of stop and searches increased significantly from the previous year's figures, and remained high (in fact increased again) the following year, apparently as a result of changes to community policing.

- The data provided suggest that young people were the demographic group most likely to be affected by dispersal powers.
- There is no statistic evidence of displacement: a positive outcome, which the police could make more of.
- Territorial issues appear to militate (in a positive way) against displacement.
- There was some evidence of managed displacement. Although this was perceived as leniency by the young people involved, it could potentially have had adverse repercussions for them too.

Chapter 6 - Perceptions of the Effectiveness of the Use of Dispersal Powers in Parkhead

This chapter reviews the effectiveness of the use of dispersal powers from the perspectives of the various groups that were involved both directly (police officers and partner agencies, including youth providers) and indirectly (members of the general public who reside in the areas affected, including young people). From our interviews with police officers and partner agencies, generally speaking the use of dispersal powers in the Parkhead area appears to have been seen as largely successful, both in terms of reducing anti-social behaviour and providing 'respite' to the local community. In contrast the youth providers' perceptions of success were perhaps more muted or cautious, although not as critical as the views of the young people interviewed. The community survey, in contrast, provided a range of perspectives that were, to some extent, influenced by demographic factors such as the age of the respondent.

6.1 Police perceptions

Without exception the police respondents voiced a positive view of the dispersal initiative and responses to it from the local community:

From the feedback I certainly got from having worked in the community up there... they loved it... They absolutely loved it and it did appear to make a difference in their day-to-day life you know. Everyone thought it was brilliant. It's a pity, they wanted it to continue you know. (Police Officer 6)

The most significant benefits were obviously to the community and reduction in crime, but from anecdotal comments from members of the public through either letters coming in to me, emails coming to me or through the work that Re-Gen were doing and the stuff that they were being told in the communities, everybody felt a lot safer. (Police Officer 1)

Far from being a short-term initiative, one officer saw the end of the dispersal zone marking a new start for the future of the area:

It's about the future. The dispersal is just part of the future of that area, to say, well look let's move on and let's try to make this better, and it's down to the enthusiasm of individuals and organisations to continue with it. It's like wiping it clean, it's like learning to say, 'Look, let's draw a line under what happened before and let's try and move on... We've got a good area here; we've got good people, right, let's drive this forward and make the whole thing better.' (Police Officer 3)

Other officers also talked about the dispersal leaving a legacy, but raised the issue of the legacy for the force potentially being problematic:

This roles out right across the force where we talk about statistics and figures. There's a lot of figures brought in because there's more uniformed officers on the streets; more stop and searches getting carried out; more detections as a result of that and that builds up a trend and a

graph and a benchmark if you like. But when we step back from that figures automatically drop and it's putting senior officers under pressure at divisions because they can't match (that) and there's a lot of pressure put on the cops and the sergeants and supervisors - why are we not hitting this level? (Police Officer 5)

Some of the officers also claimed that they did not get the reaction from young people that they expected:

There was nothing really bad from them. I mean obviously they were fed up that they couldn't do everything as usual, but (...) I thought they would be a lot angrier about it you know... everybody knew for a long time that it was going to be happening so I think they possibly resigned themselves to the fact that it was going to be happening. (Police Officer 7)

The overwhelmingly positive assessment from the police officers interviewed contrasts with previous research which suggests that police officers may be the source of 'the most critical and reflective insights into the shortcomings of the powers and the challenges they entail' (Crawford and Lister, 2007: 73).

6.2 Partner perceptions

The partner agencies agreed that the initiative appeared to be a success, with the caveat that their evidence was largely anecdotal:

Anecdotally we were hearing (that) the community absolutely loved it, they felt safe, they felt as though they could go out and walk, particularly given that we were now into the late nights and dark nights, and people felt that they could go out and walk the dog, or go and visit people and not feel a lack of safety and intimidation within the neighbourhood. So there was a real feeling from the community that it had benefitted them (...) it gave the community respite and allowed us to try and tackle some of the more persistent and problematic people. That was kind of the initiative's aim. (Partner 4)

I would say that it was beneficial to the community, the dispersal in a number of things where the community got a bit quieter. Young people a wee bit more wary about hanging about in large groups, their anti-social behaviour, their drinking habits and stuff like that (...) The community benefitted a lot I would say from the dispersal order due to the fact obviously the anti-social behaviour dropped big time. (Partner 9)

Others were able to discern a reduction in antisocial behaviour in their own particular areas (of service):

Well there was a drop in some of the antisocial behaviour, so that would mean the benefits would be that there wouldn't be so many of our officers having to do home visits to read the riot act (and say can we help you as well), however that was balanced by (having) a visible presence in the area that we were providing services in, but that's what we do within hot spots and that's a very distinct hot spot – it's always been a bit of a hot spot in that area and that's one of the reasons that we were there. (Partner 5)

Our antisocial behaviour complaints, which you know do not necessarily (involve) young people on the street, they can be neighbours, adult neighbours, they can be domestics, anything, they consequently went down in that period very significantly. In fact we reported a drop over the duration of the dispersal zone, in comparison with the previous three years, our anti-social complaints... were down 60%. We're not statisticians. We don't know how robust or what sort of claims we can make, but that was a fact and we felt it was just simply due to, not so much the dispersal, but the policing of the dispersal and the fact that there was a greater police presence in the area. (Partner 7)

More generally, there was a sense that the initiative was successful in other – perhaps non-quantifiable – ways:

I think it probably put the lid on a simmering anti-social behaviour problem, mostly though not exclusively, but mostly attributable to young people and groups of young people in the area. It allowed the community to get a bit of a breathing space. It allowed the community workers to try and put in place and demonstrate that in place were alternative activities. I think it was fairly successful in doing that. (Partner 7)

Some of the partners were particularly complimentary about the role and actions of the police at every stage of the initiative:

The police were brilliant. They made their facilities available, they attended meetings... They were very driven and transparent. They encouraged the partners to take a role and went above and beyond what could have been expected. They showed a very high level of commitment. (Partner 6)

I've been involved in public services for quite some time and the police have probably been the best service in that time in terms of how they consistently deliver, and it's also the quality of it (too)... You don't get people not wanting to work in the East End of Glasgow, you know, which you do get in other services. What you've got there is police who are good quality and very very committed to doing a professional job... and (they) have certainly got my confidence. (Partner 4)

They also believed the public had generally appreciated the use of dispersal powers:

I think you get both positive and negative (feedback), but largely it was positive; I think that was the key thing, most of it was positive. You're always going to get negative feedback given that you are going to be challenging some of the people's behaviours who live within that community so they may well be a friend or a relative of the person that's getting challenged. (Partner 4)

One partner organisation reported some early negative feedback from young people and youth workers, but argued that once they realised the police were using a 'common sense' approach, this 'petered out':

At the beginning of it we had some negative feedback from the young people; we had some concerns, not from organisations, but from individual youth workers from within organisations. But that largely petered away when they realised that the police were, I think, in the community's eyes, or the young person's eyes, doing it with a common sense approach. (Partner 7)

However, as reported earlier in the report (in the consultation section) not all partners and youth providers perceived that the police had struck the right chord in implementing the dispersal zone. One of the youth providers, whilst recognising the potential value of the initiative, suggested that the police had missed an opportunity really to engage with young people and challenge their behaviour:

Just shunting all the young people off of the streets, there's absolutely no learning, no learning at all because it became a very much 'them' and 'us'. (...) I just think the young people were dead clever about it. They took it on and did as they were told and that was it. But it was the lack of learning... I mean should they not be taught how to be better on the streets? How to respect the streets, you know what I mean? Because at the end of the day there's nowhere else for them to go. (Partner 10)

Another reported negative police intervention against young people (paradoxically) taking part in organised activities, although the police subsequently reported not being informed about this at the time, despite opportunities to do so at ongoing consultation meetings:

...on one or two occasions, purely through coincidence, we intervened in situations because we arrived as the police were in discussion about 'move yourself' and the boys would say, 'We're training for the league on a Friday night' and it was – depending on who it was - 'I don't care, get tae...', or, 'What do you mean you're playing', you know, and all that sort of stuff. We did intervene on a couple of occasions where the police were already in communication with the guys; we'd come and say, 'This is part of their programme'. (Partner 3)

A third partner questioned the implementation of the dispersal powers at a time when the situation in the community seemed to be relatively stable:

(Things) had been fairly stable; we had done quite a lot of work in partnership with the police and with youth workers about 5 years ago and really we had at that point targeted the local gang and we'd got a good relationship with them. I mean it wasn't a hundred percent successful, but largely that particular grouping of, at that time, 14-18 year olds, had started to behave and had started to get into sport, in particular football and had a decent relationship with the community police because they were involved with us in the project. They grew up, moved on and it was the next group coming through that started to pick up again. (Partner 7)

Finally, one spoke more generally of young people's attitudes towards the dispersal initiative:

And you know, not surprisingly, none of them had a particularly positive view of it. I never heard anybody saying 'It's right man' or 'I feel better'; I just heard constant moans about 'You cannae even go down to the shops' sort of thing...' (Partner 3)

Overall perceptions were therefore mixed, as were the views of the community as discussed in the next section.

6.3 Local Community Views – Community Survey

Sample Demography

In order to gauge the attitudes and experiences of the local community we conducted a community survey. A total of 110 individuals completed the questionnaire, including 61 females (56%²⁰) and 48 males (44%). Respondents were reasonably evenly spread across the age ranges with the greatest representation from those aged 20-29 (21.3%, n=23) and 50-59 (21.8%, n=24). For a full breakdown of age groups please see Table 16 below. The majority of survey respondents described themselves as white (94.5%, n=104), one respondent described themselves as Indian, one as Black African, and 4 respondents chose not to answer the question. The majority of respondents had lived in the area for more than 20 years (56%, n=61), followed by 21.1% (n=23) who had lived in the area for 10-20 years. The remainder had lived there less than one year (10.1%, n=11), between 1 and 5 years (7.3%, n=8) and 5-10 years (5.5%, n=6). As such the majority of respondents have an historical knowledge of the area.

Table 16 Survey Respondents by Age Group

Age Group	Number	Per cent
Under 20	10	9.3%
20-29	23	21.3%
30-39	17	15.7%
40-49	16	14.8%
50-59	24	21.8%
60 & over	18	16.7%
TOTAL	108	100%

Perceptions of the Local Area

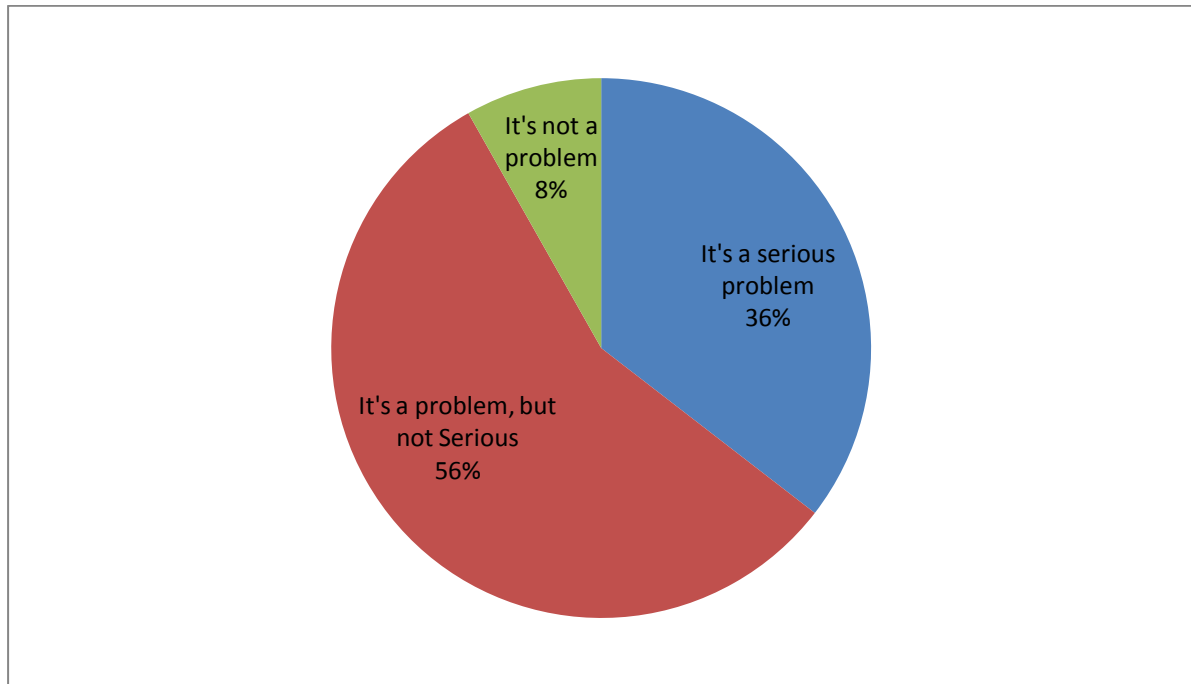
Respondents were asked a number of questions to gauge their attitudes and opinions about the local area, and their perceptions of crime and antisocial behaviour in the area. The majority of respondents rated the area as either good or very good (54.2%, n=58) to live in. A further 32.1% (n=35) rated it as 'mixed' and a minority (12.9%, n=14) rated it as either a bad or very bad place to live. The age of the respondent impacted upon how they rated the local area. Those aged 60 and over were more likely to rate the area as good or very good, with 75.6% (13) of that age groups doing so, compared to only 38.7% (n=12) of those under 30 years of age. Of those who rated the area as either bad or very bad, 66.7% (n=8) were in

²⁰ Please note that all percentages referred to for community survey data refer to valid percentages, that is expressed as a proportion of those who answered the question, rather than as a proportion of all survey respondents – 'n' values are provided for clarity.

the under 30 age group. These findings are statistically significant at a 95% level of confidence ($\chi^2=11.790$, d.f. =4, $p=.019$).

Antisocial behaviour in the area was rated as a problem by 91.8% (n=101) of respondents, of whom 35.5% (n=39) rated it as a serious problem. This is illustrated in Figure 7 below.

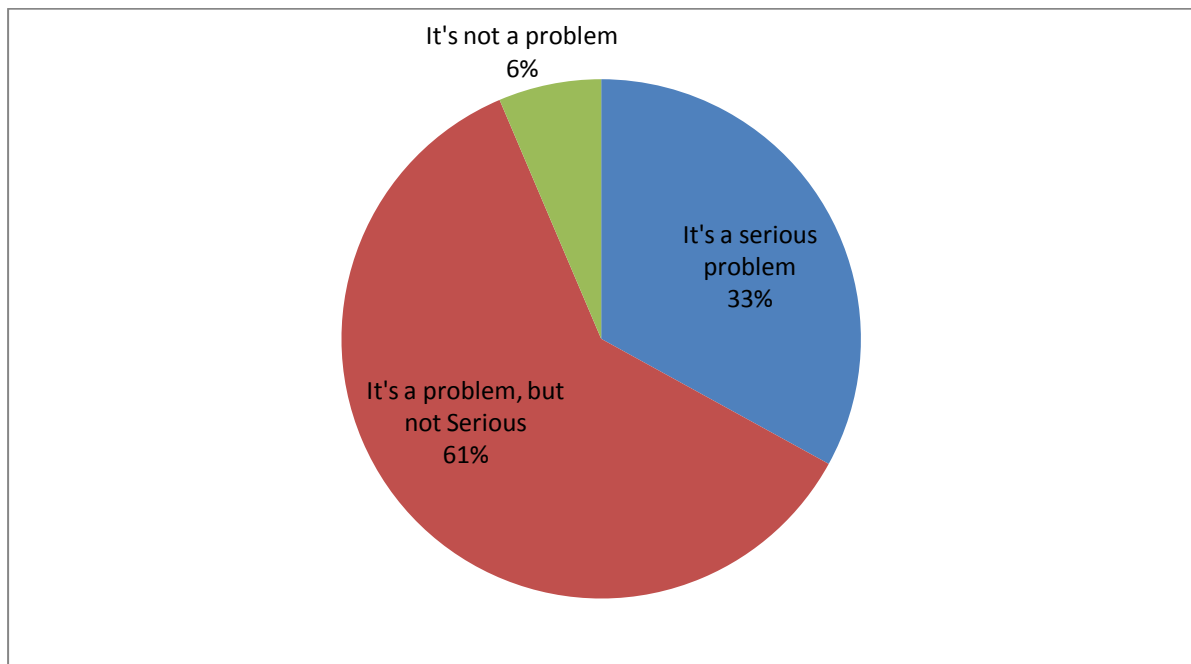
Figure 7 Attitudes about the Extent of Antisocial Behaviour



Similar results were found for ratings on crime. A total of 93.6% (n=102) respondents thought crime was a problem in the Parkhead area, and 33% (n=36) believed this to be a serious problem. These figures are illustrated in Figure 8 below.

Respondents were asked to state whether they thought crime and antisocial behaviour had risen in the past two years in the Parkhead area. The majority of respondents believed that both crime (54.9%, n=56) and antisocial behaviour (51.5%, n=53) had risen. A small minority (5.9%, n=6 and 6.8%, n=7 respectively) believed levels had decreased. The remainder of the sample believed levels had stayed the same.

Figure 8 Attitudes about the Extent of Crime



Perceptions of Safety and Experiences of Victimisation

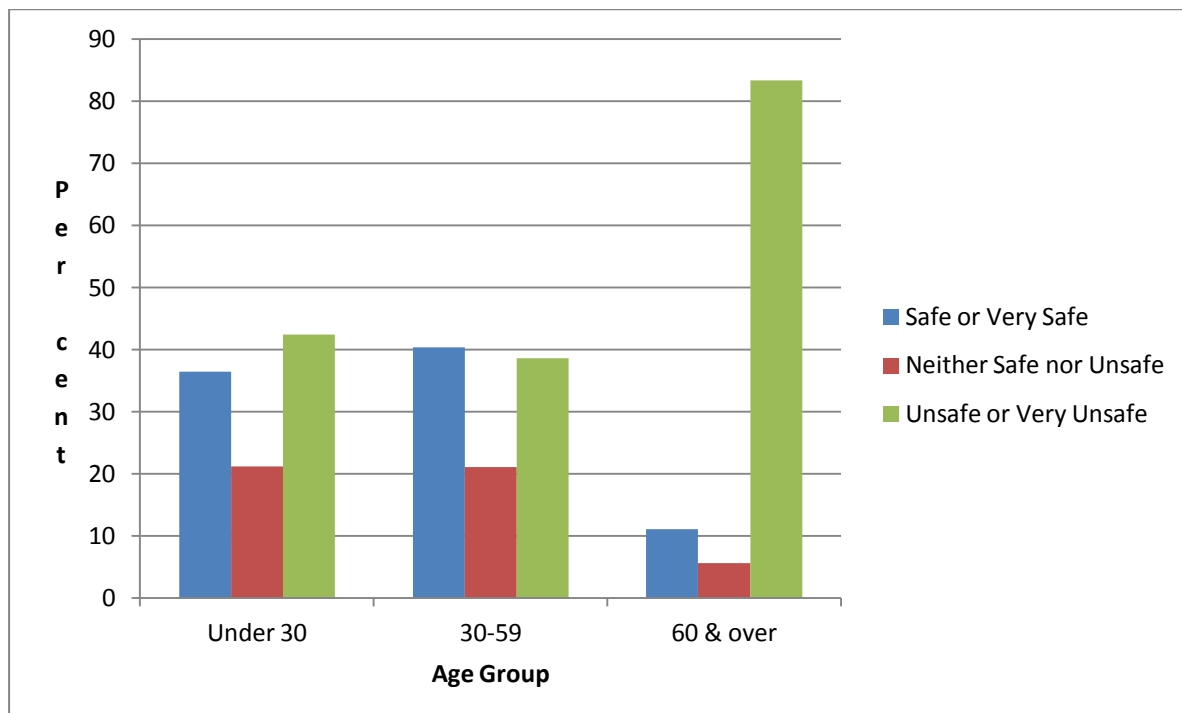
The survey included questions about both perceptions of safety and experiences of victimisation within, and outside, the Parkhead area, as well as perceptions about the safety of Parkhead relative to other areas of Glasgow City.

In daylight hours the majority of the sample felt either safe or very safe (75.5%, n=83) in the local area with only a small number (7.3%, n=8) reporting they felt a lack of safety. The remainder of respondents reported a neutral response of feeling neither safe nor unsafe. There was no significant difference by either age or gender, meaning men and women, old and young, were equally likely to give the same answers to levels of safety during daylight hours.

Respondents were also asked about their feelings of safety at night time in the dark. This question received considerably different responses to those for daylight hours. The majority of respondents (48.2%, n=53) felt either unsafe or very unsafe, 33.6% (n=37) felt safe or very safe, and 18.2% (n=20) gave a neutral response. Interestingly, there were significant differences by age group. Those aged 60 and over were more likely to feel unsafe or very unsafe when out at night with 83.3% (n=15) reporting this, compared to only 42.4% (n=14) of those under 30. The converse was true for those reporting they felt safe or very safe when out at night, with only 11.1% (n=2) of those 60 and over reporting this compared to 36.4% (n=12) of those under 30. These findings are statistically significant at a 95% level of confidence ($\chi^2=11.465$, d.f.=4, $p=.022$) and are illustrated in Figure 9 below. There were no

significant differences by gender and men and women were equally likely to report all three responses.

Figure 9 Feelings of Safety at Night-time by Age Group



In addition to these general questions about perceptions of safety, we were also interested in respondents' perceptions about the safety of the Parkhead area before the dispersal order relative to other areas of Glasgow City. The majority of respondents believed Parkhead was just as safe as other areas of the city (55.3%, n=52), 29.8% (n=28) believed it was less safe than other parts of the city and 6.4% (n=6) believed it was the same as other areas.

Respondents were also asked about their experiences of antisocial behaviour in the last 12 months both inside and outside the Parkhead area. Respondents were most likely to have experienced antisocial behaviour within the Parkhead area (29.1%, n=32) than outside it (14.5%, n=16). As such, the majority of respondents experienced no antisocial behaviour at all in the previous 12 months. Levels of antisocial behaviour varied and ranged from once (10%, n=11) to four times or more (12.7%, n=14) within the Parkhead area and from once (5.5%, n=6) to four times or more (7.3%, n=8) outside the Parkhead area. Experiences of antisocial behaviour were cross-tabulated with respondents' reported level of fear during daytime and night-time. The findings show no relationship between having been a victim of antisocial behaviour either inside or outside the local area, with perceptions of safety either during daytime or night-time. This is consistent with research that shows there is not

necessarily any correlation between crime victimisation and fear of crime (Ormston & Anderson, 2010).

Knowledge and Understanding of the Dispersal Order

Respondents were asked about their knowledge and understanding of the Parkhead Dispersal Order. A slight majority of respondents were aware that a dispersal order had been used in the area (55.5%, n=61), however the remaining 44.5% (n=49) had no recollection of the dispersal. This may be an artefact of the time gap between the end of the dispersal and data collection, or it may be that the dispersal did not especially impact upon their lives. The most common ways of having found out about the Dispersal Order were from a public notice either in the street or put through the letterbox (25.6%, n=16), from the police (19.4%, n=12), from a friend or neighbour (17.7%, n=11) or from *The Re-Gen* newspaper (16.1%, n=10). The majority of respondents indicated that the reasons for the dispersal were explained to them (61.8%, n=42), a further 30.9% (n=21) indicated that the reasons were not explained to them, and an additional 7.4% (n=5) did not know.

The original aim of the dispersal in the Parkhead area was to improve behaviour within the area and to offer respite to the local community who had suffered from antisocial behaviour over a prolonged period of time. Respondents were asked what reason was given to them by the source/person who told them about the dispersal order. The majority indicated that it was high levels of antisocial behaviour in the area (42%, n=21). This was followed by young people hanging around the area (30%, n=15), high levels of crime (22%, n=11), and one person thought it was high levels of intolerance by local people. In contrast, when asked what *they personally* thought was the motivation behind the introduction of the dispersal, the most frequent response was large numbers of young people hanging about (42%, n=37). The second most frequent response was antisocial behaviour (18.2%, n=16), followed by high levels of crime (12.5%, n=11). An additional 6.8% (n=6) thought it was to impose a curfew on younger people, and a further 6.8% (n=6) thought it was due to high levels of intolerance by local people. The top three choices for each category are summarised in Table 17 below.

Table 17 Reasons for the Dispersal Order

Ranking	Reasons given	Perceived reasons
1	High levels of ASB (42%)	Young people hanging about (42%)
2	Young people hanging around (30%)	High levels of ASB (18.2%)
3	High levels of crime (22%)	High levels of crime (12.5%)

We were also interested in gauging people's understanding of the powers available to the police during the dispersal, and their awareness of the geographical area the dispersal covered. Results show that only 25.6% of respondents fully understood the powers available to the police, and only 20.7% fully understood the geographical boundaries of the dispersal, whilst around one-third did not understand the powers (31.4%) or the boundaries at all (39.1%). These figures are illustrated in Table 18. There are two potential interpretations of this data. Firstly, that information dissemination was not adequate and that for any future dispersal order, more needs to be done to ensure the local community is informed about both the powers and the area they apply to. Secondly, that these results are an artefact of the time gap between the end of the dispersal and the collection of community data, and this may simply reflect the impact of the passage of time on people's memories.

Table 18 Understanding of the Dispersal Order Powers and Geographical Boundaries

Level of Understanding	Powers of the Dispersal	Boundaries of the Dispersal
Fully Understood	25.6% (n=22)	20.7% (n=18)
Partly Understood	43% (n=37)	40.2% (n=35)
Did not Understand	31.4% (n=27)	39.1% (n=34)

Respondents were also asked if they were aware of the diversion activities that were an integral part of the dispersal order in Parkhead. Only 17.9% (n=15) knew about the diversion activities available for young people. Given that only 29.1% (n=32) of the sample had children living with them, a lower response might be expected, as those without children may not have paid particular attention to the diversion aspect. Nonetheless, this aspect of any future dispersal may require more advertising and community engagement to increase awareness.

Experiences of the Dispersal

Of the 94 respondents who answered the question, 12 (12.8%) were asked to disperse during the period of the order. All 12 indicated that the police explained the reason for them being dispersed, and all 12 also reported that the police treated them with respect. Conversely however, 11 of the 12 reported that the experience of being dispersed had left them feeling less confident in the police. The majority of those who were dispersed under the age of 30 (91.7%, n=11). Six of those dispersed were under the age of 20, 5 were aged between 20 and 29 years of age, and one person was aged 30 to 39 years of age.

A greater number of respondents (25) claimed to know someone who was dispersed than were dispersed themselves. The most likely person to have been dispersed was a friend (14.1%, n=13) or family member (5.4%, n=5). A total of 72.8% (n=67) did not know anyone

who was dispersed. Older people were considerably less likely to know someone who had been dispersed than younger people. In fact, those over 60 years of age in the sample did not know anyone who was dispersed, whereas 46.2% (n=12) of those under 30, and 27.1% (n=13) of those aged 30 to 59 years of age knew someone who was dispersed. These findings are statistically significant at a 95% level of confidence ($X^2=10.542$, d.f. = 2, $p=.005$).

Respondents were asked if they were aware of a greater police presence during the dispersal. The majority of respondents (57.9%, n=55) noticed a higher police presence, 26.3% (n=25) did not, and a further 15.8% (n=15) did not know.

Attitudes, Opinions and Impact of the Dispersal

A number of questions were asked to measure the attitudes and opinions of the local population towards the dispersal, and its impact upon them and the local community. When asked if they felt the introduction of the dispersal order was an appropriate measure, the majority of those who answered felt that it was appropriate (53.8%, n=49), a further 23.1% (n=21) thought it was inappropriate and 23.1% (n=21) did not know. When asked to give a reason for their answer, the following responses were received.

It was appropriate because:

- *Groups of young people on the street are intimidating for older people in particular.*
- *It can be scary seeing lots of young people on the streets.*
- *It was appropriate because too many youngsters and adults were running around causing distress to others. While the dispersal was on the place was a lot happier to live in.*
- *Lots of crime and people getting stabbed. Groups of football fans hanging about.*
- *Need to do something about young people/gangs/violence. They're out of control.*
- *Probably a good idea to try and stop the gangs fighting each other.*

It was inappropriate because:

- *Antisocial behaviour is a problem but not sure this dealt with it.*
- *I think it was too fucking harsh on the weans.*
- *I think older folk have forgotten what it's like to be young.*
- *It only targets groups of young people with nowhere else to go who may not necessarily be doing anything wrong.*
- *Polis don't need more powers.*

In particular, young people thought it was inappropriate because:

- *It was pure shitey man. It wisnae fair.*
- *We weren't doing anything wrong. It really pissed me off.*

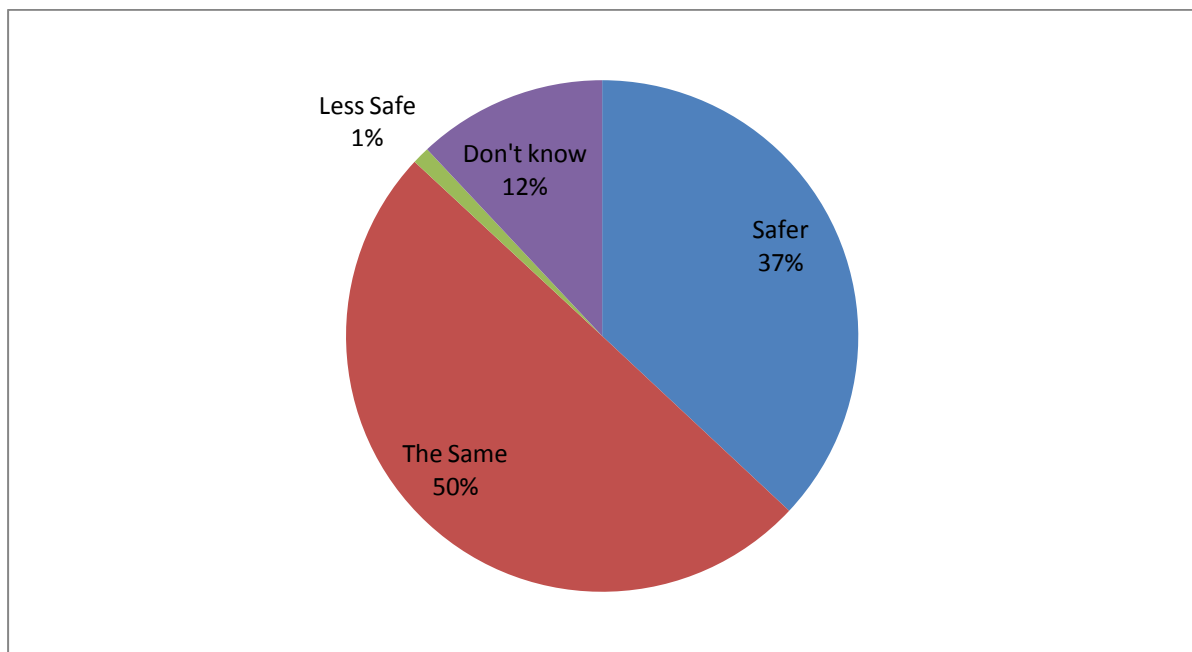
- *We're just hinging out with pals.*
- *We're not doing anything wrong.*
- *Why can't we hang about on streets with our pals? Where are we supposed to go?*

Older people were much more likely than younger people to consider the dispersal order to be appropriate, whereas younger people were more likely to consider it to be inappropriate. Of those 60 years and over a total of 93.3% (n=14) considered it appropriate, whereas only 30.8% (8) of those under 30 years of age did. In contrast, 50% (n=13) of those under 30 considered the dispersal order to be inappropriate, compared to 16.7% (n=8) of those aged 30-59, and no one 60 and over. These findings are statistically significant at a 99% level of confidence ($\chi^2=21.849$, d.f. = 4, $p=.000$).

Local Safety

Respondents were asked if they believed the area had become safer as a result of the dispersal order. The majority thought the area had the same level of safety as it had done before the dispersal (50%, n=26), essentially saying there had been no change. A total of 37% (n=34) felt the area had become safer. These figures are illustrated in Figure 10 below.

Figure 10 Changes in Perceptions of Safety in the Local Area as a Result of the Dispersal



Respondents' perceptions about whether the area had become safer as a result of the dispersal order were mediated by age. Those aged 60 and over were more likely to think the

dispersal had increased people's sense of safety with 85.7% (n=12) reporting this, compared to 70.7% (n=29) of those aged 30 to 59, and much fewer of those aged under 30 years of age (34.6%, n=9).

Respondents were asked whether they thought the dispersal zone was successful in reducing antisocial behaviour, crime and the numbers of young people hanging around in public areas. More people thought there had been a reduction in antisocial behaviour (62.4%) and young people hanging around in public areas (67.9%) compared with a reduction in crime (46.4%). As can be seen in Table 19 below, a number of people indicated that they did not know if there had been a reduction in levels, ranging from 19% to 38.1% for the three issues.

Table 19 Do you think the dispersal order successfully reduced antisocial behaviour, crime and the numbers of young people hanging around in public places?

Response	Antisocial Behaviour	Crime	Young People in Public
Yes	62.4% (n=53)	46.4% (n=39)	67.9% (n=57)
No	14.1% (n=12)	15.5% (n=13)	13.1% (n=11)
Don't know	23.5% (n=20)	38.1% (n=32)	19% (n=16)

Older people were more likely to report that the dispersal order had successfully reduced levels of crime. Those aged 60 were more likely (78.6%, n=11) to report that it had reduced compared to those aged 30 to 39 (47.6%, n=20) and those aged under 30 years of age (26.9%, n=7). These findings are statistically significant at a 95% level of confidence ($X^2=11.143$, d.f. =4, $p=.025$).

Displacement

Respondents were asked if they thought the dispersal order had displaced antisocial behaviour to other places in the local area. The majority of respondents (49.4%, n=44) said they did not know if this was the case, and a further 44.9% (n=40) thought that there had been displacement to other areas. Only 5.6% (n=5) thought there had been no displacement.

Fairness

A total of 24.1% (n=21) of respondents indicated they thought the police were fair and consistent in the use of the dispersal powers, whereas 23% (n=20) did not think they were fair and consistent. The response to this question was different if the respondent themselves had been dispersed, or if they knew someone who had been dispersed.

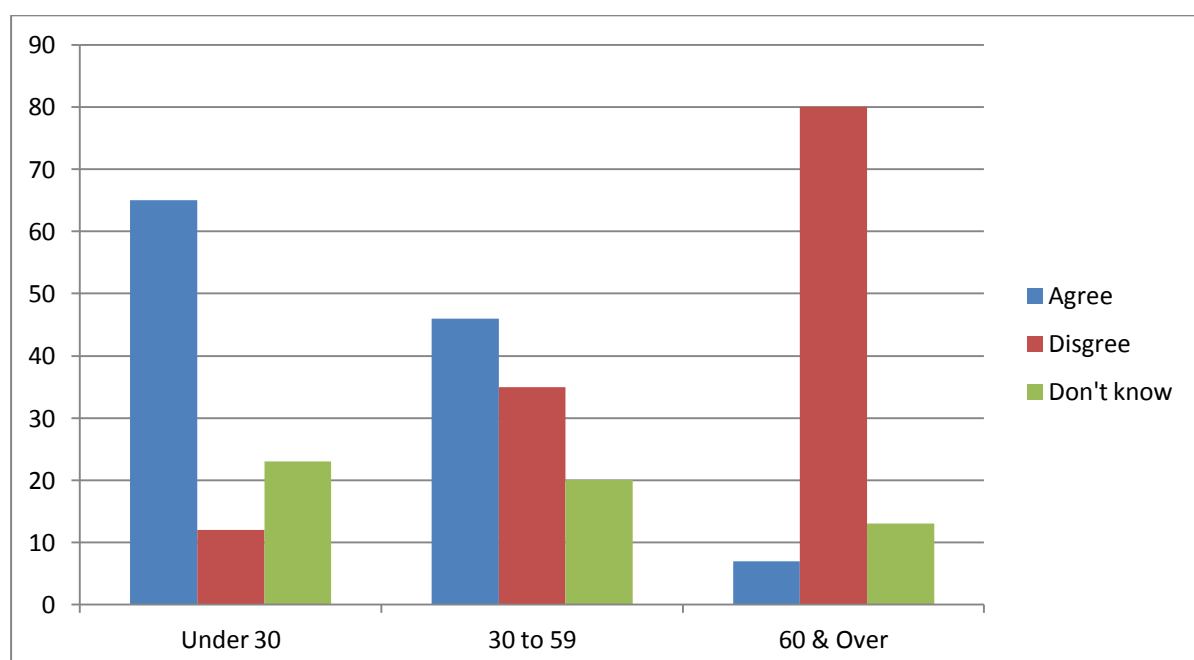
Of those who were themselves dispersed and answered the questions on whether the police were fair and consistent in the use of the powers (11), only 1 person (9.1%) believed

the police were fair and consistent, whereas the remaining 10 (90.9%) did not believe so. Additionally, those who knew someone who was dispersed were less likely to think the police were fair and consistent in their use of the powers (13.6%, n=3) than those who did not know someone who was dispersed (26.6%, n=17). Of those who knew someone who was dispersed, 63.3% (n=14) disagreed with the statement that the police were fair and consistent in their use of the powers, compared to only 9.4% (n=6) of those who did not know someone. These findings are statistically significant at a 99% level of confidence ($\chi^2 = 27.134$, d.f. = 2, $p = .000$).

Age differences in whether respondents believed the police were fair and consistent in the use of their dispersal powers were evident. Those aged 60 and over were more likely to think the police were fair and consistent (40%, n=6) than those aged 30 to 59 (22.7%, n=10) and those aged under 30 years of age (15.4%, n=4). These findings are statistically significant at a 95% level of confidence ($\chi^2 = 10.899$, d.f. = 4, $p = .028$). However, those in the older age groups were also less likely to be dispersed, and those who were not dispersed had a more positive view of the police's role in this respect.

Respondents were asked a series of other questions to gauge their attitudes towards the dispersal order overall. A total of 43.8% (n=39) of respondents thought the dispersal unfairly targeted young people for being out in groups. This variable was mediated by age, as younger people aged under 30 years of age were more likely to think this was the case (65.4%, n=17) than those in the older age groups of 30 to 59 years of age (45.7%, n=21) and 60 and over (6.7%, n=1). These findings are statistically significant at a 99% level of confidence ($\chi^2 = 20.325$, d.f. = 4, $p = .000$). These findings are illustrated in Figure 11 below.

**Figure 11 Dispersal Orders Unfairly Target Young People
for Being out in Groups by Age Group**



Other notable results included:

- A total of 59.1% (n=52) indicated they thought the dispersal order provided a short-term response to the problem of antisocial behaviour but did little to target the longer-term issues.
- A minority of respondents indicated the introduction of the dispersal had made them feel more negatively towards the police (11.9%, n=11), the majority thought it had made no difference to their feelings towards the police (52.2%, n=48) and a further 27.2% (n=25) felt more positively about the police as a result.
- A total of 37.8% (n=34) of respondents thought the dispersal powers should be made permanently available to the police and the rest of the sample either disagreed (28.9%, n=26) or did not know (33.3%, n=30).
- A majority of respondents also indicated they thought there were not enough places for young people to go in the local area (68.9%, n=62).
- More than two-fifths (41.1%, n=37) thought there should be a curfew on youths under 16 being out after 9pm. This latter issue was different by age of respondent. Those aged under 30 were considerably less likely to agree with a curfew for those under 16 (19.2%, n=5) compared to those aged 30 to 59 (46.8%, n=22) and those aged 60 and over (66.7%, n=10). These findings are statistically significant at a 95% level of confidence ($X^2=14.039$, d.f. = 4, $p=.007$).
- Additionally, 77.5% (n=69) thought parents needed to take more responsibility for their children's behaviour.

Longer-Term Results

The longer term impact of the dispersal order was also enquired about, with respondents asked whether they thought there had been a change in levels of antisocial behaviour, crime and young people hanging around in public places since it ended. The majority of respondents indicated that all three areas had increased since the end of the dispersal (see Table 20). However there was a smaller increase indicated for groups of young people hanging around in public places, and the majority of respondents 51.5% (47) said levels had stayed the same after the dispersal order, suggesting that a longer term impact is potentially evident here.

Table 20 Changes in Antisocial Behaviour, Crime and the Numbers of Young People Hanging around in Public Places since the End of the Dispersal

Response	Antisocial Behaviour	Crime	Young People in Public
More	53.9% (n=47)	58.4% (n=39)	25% (n=23)
Stayed the Same	36.3% (n=33)	38.2% (n=34)	51.5% (n=47))
Less	8.8% (n=8)	5.6% (n=5)	12% (n=11)

Respondents were asked to say in their own words what the major impact was of the dispersal order in the local area:

Positive comments included:

- *Bringing the community together.*
- *Don't see as many gangs.*
- *Helped for a while. Showed people how it could be.*
- *Keeping the streets safe and available to all people. I could go buy milk at night.*
- *Made the streets a bit safer.*
- *Showed young people they can't just do as they please. They have rights but they also have responsibilities.*
- *Since the dispersal we have had no antisocial behaviour involving our shop (book makers). Before the dispersal we had problems from young people on daily basis.*

More negative comments about the impact included:

- *Hacked off young people. Most of them on the streets are not there to cause bother.*
- *Kids move on but then come back.*
- *Made young people feel like second class citizens.*
- *Managing to right piss the young folk off.*
- *Probably alienated young people. Still as shit as ever.*

Young people were more likely to make negative comments about the dispersal, these included:

- *Making me hate the polis more.*
- *Making us (young people) hate the police more.*
- *Nothing except stopping us going out.*
- *Stopped us hanging around.*
- *Stopped me seeing my mates.*
- *You'd nowhere to go. I had to stay in and was bored.*

Only one young person observed the potential benefits of the dispersal for them personally in terms of restricting their ability to get into trouble, but at the same time resented the implication that they were always doing something wrong:

- *Good, it kept us off the street and out of bother. Bad, it kept us off the streets but we felt like criminals for standing on the street corner.*

Overall Evaluation

The majority of respondents thought the dispersal was worthwhile overall, with 51.1% (n=47) reporting this. A further 31.5% (29) thought it was not worthwhile, and 17.4% (16)

did not know. There were significant age differences evident. Those aged 60 and over were more likely to report that it was worthwhile with 93.8% (15) of that age group doing so. This compares to only 22.2% (6) of those under 30 years of age. Of those under 30, more than half thought the dispersal was not worthwhile overall (55.6%, n=15). These findings are statistically significant at a 99% level of confidence ($\chi^2=21.696$, d.f. = 4, $p=.000$).

6.4 Young People's Views – Focus Group Findings

In addition to the community survey, three focus groups were held with young people – all males. The aim was to gain insight into young people's experiences of, and attitudes towards dispersal powers specifically, but more generally about their interaction with the police. On the whole the young people who took part spoke candidly and (at times) with good humour about their experiences and perceptions, which appeared to be still fresh in their minds even though the dispersal powers ended more than a year previously.

Although aware of the dispersal zone from the outset, some of the youths claimed that they did not understand the powers fully because 'the police did not explain them properly':

Aye well the first few weeks, man, I was in a lot of arguments cos they wer'nae explaining it right and different polis were coming up with different rules and that caused a lot o' arguments and I think that's why we had to get our local police to sit and sort it so we knew what was happening. And that's where we eventually knew what times we could go out on the streets and that. (FG1)

This was supported by a comment made during the Street Surveys:

One policeman said it was two young people who will get lifted and then said three; they should make up their minds. (Male, aged 12, from Street Survey)

My ma and da thought when they were at a meeting for it they said it'll be three. Three people will be allowed to walk about and then it was two and my ma was like: 'I thought it was three'. (FG2)

Young people also thought that how they were treated when stopped by the police was dependent on the police officer involved:

It just depends on what policeman it was. (FG1)

The older ones (...) just hit the power game. 'Aye I can do what I want. I'm the boss. This is my town'. (FG2)

When asked if they usually recognised the officers patrolling the streets, they reported that they knew some of them, but not all, and that this would sometimes have an impact on whether they were dispersed or not:

... because they didnae know the area, they didnae know who you were. Whereas the other police that knew you and that, knew like if you were up to something like causing any trouble,

you know, the other ones just thought 'Oh wee neds' we'll split them up because there's a dispersal zone. Whereas the other coppers knew like, local ones, knew we were in a group but we weren't causing any trouble and that, they weren't going to split us up. (FG1)

They were a bit more strict at the beginning. Once they knew your face they were ok. (FG3)

Although young people were generally aware of the dispersal zone from the onset (thanks to the intense communication strategy), they were not unduly concerned until it began to affect them:

We didn't really bother until... We thought it something the police were doing, then they were actually enforcing it onto us and that's when we started to notice, right, when they were actually coming and splitting us up. But it was different obviously at times when we were mad getting drunk and that, but they were daft at times when we were just sitting at the Cross and that... Just standing about cos they had nothing better to dae. They made us split up. (FG1)

Not surprisingly perhaps, young people did not like being subjected to the dispersal powers:

I didnae think it was good, man, because they tried to split you up fae your pals ... and you wer'nae allowed tae hing about in groups o' more than 3 wi' your pals, so obviously we a' grew up with each other so there is a big team o' us and you want to be able to hing about wi' all yer different pals. And they're sitting there making me sit on different parts o' the street and different streets in your scheme and it's no right. (FG1)

Just (got) annoyed. You can't go anywhere, you know, in groups. You had to break up into groups of two. (FG3)

It was gang fighting that brought on the dispersal and we can't be bothered with gang fighting. (FG2)

Some reported feeling 'picked on' by the police:

At Parkhead Cross there were 12 junkies sitting in a row... they didn't get dispersed. It's just a' us... It's only the young team ... that are guilty of loitering. (FG1)

The police stopped you every 2 minutes just to ask you what's going on? (FG2)

Asked about how frequently they were dispersed, some of the young men interviewed claimed they were dispersed nearly every day. Asked about what happened when they were approached by the police:

The just came over and told you the time and you should be dispersed and if I catch you in this area within 24 hours you'll get the jail. (FG1)

But according to some of the young people interviewed, it was not just 'the usual suspects' who were dispersed:

Aye, people that wer'nae oor pals, just boy that hing about the streets an' that, they got dispersed. And the young boys in Parkhead at the time got dispersed. It wasnae just the gangs, it

was whatever young boys were in groups of more than three that got dispersed. It was not just, like, the gangs, it was young boys in groups of more than a few that got dispersed. (FG1)

Some young people were particularly perturbed by being dispersed for what they considered to be doing nothing wrong:

I think it maybe would work if, say we were jumping about and causing breaches, then they could split us up, but if you are just like standing like in a group, there's nothing they can split you up for. (FG1)

If you are standing drinking in a public space or something... yeah it's fair to split you up then and just say, 'Look, you've been warned, you've been told... you're not to drink in the street, go away noo!' But if you are just standing like during the week... if you are just standing with your mates, I don't think they should be able to do it then. It seems a bit like you're committing a crime by standing on the street corner'. (FG1)

Say you're going on a bike run or something there might be six of us going and say the police pull you up and 'what are youse doing'; 'We're on a bike run'. That's what we used to get. Me and my pal got stopped in Tollcross Park. (FG2)

They just see a big group and they automatically think they're doing something wrong when we're not. (FG3)

When you're not doing anything wrong, it's that what we got annoyed about. (FG3)

This comment echoes remarks made to Deuchar (2010) during the fieldwork for his research on young men in the East End of Glasgow, who complained of being 'harassed' by the police 'just for standing in the street'.

Despite the police's strict enforcement of the dispersal powers mentioned previously (i.e. breach of the notice to disperse or leave the area always resulting in arrest), at least one young male reported chancing his luck with the time-frame and losing out as a result:

I missed my dispersal time by 4 minutes or something one time, a couple of my pals were out... (FG1)

Another young person reported that he 'got the jail' the second time he was dispersed.

I got caught the next day, man, it was a Monday night and I got caught the next day. I got let out, but...' (FG1)

Some young people also mentioned being stopped more than once in quick succession:

'You see ones could pull you, then you'd walk round the corner and other ones would pull you and they wouldn't know that you just got pulled round the corner.... so it wasn't good communication. ... They would just go, 'Aye, we have to search you and that anyway'. They don't believe you, obviously they think you are just saying that to get away from them.' (FG1)

There was also some general frustration and annoyance expressed that Parkhead was being 'picked on' in this way – as some young people seemed to think they were the first scheme in Glasgow where such dispersal powers had been implemented:

It was annoying obviously in Parkhead tae cos at the time we were the only scheme that was getting tried on and then you are sitting talking tae people an' that on the Internet and they are like that, laughing, that youse were actually getting split up and that fae yer pals. And you would go 'How about youse?' and they would go 'No, youse are the only schemes that have got it'. (FG1)

When asked what they did when they were dispersed, the youths interviewed were candid with their responses:

Walked round the corner and met up wi yer pals at a different spot... We'd just say we'll meet you round this street and just walk round and hope the police don't come. But we did start to go up to further away places and that. (FG1)

Some young people argued that they did not understand the logic of dispersing young people and tried to turn that logic on its head:

'They want to keep us fae standing aboot at that time. Just say there's a group of about 10 boys standing drinking, they split you up so what they've done is split up a large gang of you so 3 of you go and start trouble, and 3 doon there and 3 up there are smashing buses or dain' whatever they are dain. Makes more sense to keep them a' the gether, then you can keep an eye on them...' (FG1)

One of the other young men agreed with the above:

If the police are aboot the scheme they (young people) just move into the woods and dae what they were dain in the woods and they're oot the way. The police are then no knowing what they're dain or where they are, so it's their fault. At least that way if they're in their scheme there are cameras there that keep an eye on what they're dain, but if they're away in the woods there are nae cameras or nothing there. (FG1)

... if they are dispersed they've not got a clue where they are, they could be anywhere doing anything, then they (the police) go, 'Aye, we seen youse' and we go, 'Aye but you dispersed us so it wasnae us it must have been another group that done it and then another group can go, 'It wasnae our group it was them...' (FG1)

Asked whether being dispersed had any impact on their behaviour:

I think it made you more thingmy towards the police, you didnae respect them as much because they were just pulling you pure all the time, whereas they would only maybe pull you (before) if they had seen you a bit drunk or causing a bit of trouble, whereas they were just pulling you to make sure you weren't in the dispersal bit. But it was all the young team like, young boys that were getting pulled. They werenae, well, silly we neds and that, but they werenae like, in a gang or that, and they boys were getting pulled and that. It was nothing to do with (that) it was just boys that kicked the ball about and that's all. (FG1)

Sometimes they just put you in a pure downer you don't want to go out; what to get lifted? You can't have a life basically, that's what it was like. You're stuck in the house. If you walk out your close you're told to go home. (FG2)

The guys on walkabout were the ones that were the cheekiest I ever met you know? (How come?) Just pure cheeky – like 'Move! Get away from your pals' while I'm walking home. That's when we begin to be cheeky (back). (FG2)

Asked why they thought the younger boys were 'being pulled', it was suggested that all young people were being labelled as troublemakers:

It's a bit shocking that all young boys are all tarred with the same brush, but ... it's just part of being in a gang, I suppose isn't it? (FG1)

It was also argued that this was not a good thing as it had the potential to '*make the younger boys hate the police as they are growing up*' (FG1). This echoes a previously reported comment by one of the partners who was concerned that the initiative, if handled wrongly, could '*scar the next generation of young people*' (Partner 7).

It was clear from the focus groups that some young people felt the response was out of proportion to their behaviour, particularly when it related to 'presence', i.e. hanging about in the streets, to the extent that they argued they may as well respond accordingly:

Also, you know if they are gonna target us at a young age when we're no dain nuffin, we may as well go and dae something. You know, if we're getting accused we may as well do it.' (FG1)

This self-fulfilling prophecy/deviancy amplification sentiment was echoed by an older youth who argued that it could escalate some young people's sense of grievance against the police:

It's gonna be a bit dangerous for them as well cos if they're gonna jail you for breaching a dispersal, you're gonna think you've no really done much, you've stopped me twice now you're giving me the jail. You're gonna go, 'Well I'm taking the jail for something useful and just attack them', cos if you gotta take the jail, you're gonna want it for something proper, you're no gonna want it for a shitey dispersal, know what I mean? It's a breach of the peace, because one of the other things is, you're gonna go to court, you're going up on Monday, so you're just wasting 2 full days lying about a stinking cell. (FG1)

In respect of the quotation above, it is interesting to note that attacks on the police increased during the dispersal zone period, as noted in Chapter 5 in the section covering the statistical the results of the dispersal.

Although generally against the dispersal zone ('*obviously we just don't want it at all*'), the main bone of contention appeared to be the 24-hour rule, which some youths argued was '*a bit much*'.

Obviously certain bits of it (the dispersal zone) would work, then there's other bits that they could look at to make it more (couldn't think of word)... I think 24 hours is a bit much. (FG1)

According to one youth, the police knew the 24-hour rule would be effective because of territoriality issues:

Cos the way it's working out basically, they are telling you (that) you need to go home and sit in the hoose for 24 hours cos ... they know you canna go anywhere else. (FG1)

When asked whether they thought the dispersal zone had made the area safer, including for them, the responses were mixed:

The older people would have went 'Aye, they weren't on our street, that we were causing trouble on somebody else's street. (FG1)

You can see why they've done it, I mean actually if you were walking through the scheme right and there was a group of maybe 10-12 boys standing drinking ... you're thinking that's a wee bit cagey, know what I mean? Am I going to have to go to town with all this mob here, but if it's just 2 or 3 you know like well that's fair enough then...In Parkhead you see older people crossing the road, man, to walk by you cos they obviously feel threatened...' (FG1)

You do it yourself when you're walking though a scheme, know what I mean? I've done that with drunk boys. (FG1)

Some made the point that, although older generations were perhaps happier with the results of the use of dispersal powers than younger people, their own parents were generally not, for example:

My mither thought it was crazy, you know... my da thought it was daft, so did a lot of other people. A lot of people's mas were complaining cos they were getting pulled and it was, 'They weren't even in a gang'. (FG1)

(My parents) didn't want it to happen. They were sick of you sitting in the house... And then you were sitting in a park; in a public park. Aye, sitting with your pals (and got dispersed) and my ma was like 'that's just stupid'. (FG2)

This last point was corroborated by one of the partners, who could see their point to some extent:

I think there was some negative feedback from those young people that felt that they were being corralled... There were probably some adults who supported that view point as well and, potentially, I might have supported some of those viewpoints in my younger years. (Partner 5)

Young People's Views of the Diversionary Activities Available

In terms of diversionary activities available, some young people were adamant that there was nothing for them to do in the Parkhead area, and even blamed this for their antisocial behaviour;

Not much to dae in Parkhead now, nothing to at all in Parkhead now, so that's how a lot of trouble happens. (FG1)

They also thought it was unfair that they were dispersed and felt that they had little choice but to remove themselves from the area, which could cause other problems (see below) or go home and stay in for 24 hours.

I still think if they are going to disperse you then there should be somewhere to be dispersed; you've got to gie them somewhere to go. (FG1)

They have to gie you somewhere to go after, or something to dae, they cannae just expect to split youse up and tell you to go hame. You're no gonna go hame, you're just gonna go and do what you do elsewhere. (FG1)

Never mind dispersals. If you just gie them something to dae, I mean... that was our problem in Yoker, we just had nothing at all to do, so we'd get a drink and go to the pictures and get a riot and head home and do what we were doing because there's just nothing at all for you to do. (FG1)

There's nothing in Parkhead to do, man. A 5-aside pitch or something, man.

They're spending £30 million to build a velodrome for the games and we're (just) asking for a 5-aside pitch man. (FG1)

This last point was echoed by one of the partner organisations when asked about resources for young people in the area:

I would not be critical of what all the organisations do: they've got a hard job; they've got limited resources; they do their best and there is a lot of things that youngsters here can do, but I think the kind of facility the Parkhead area needs is an accessible sports facility. (Partner 7)

One of the police officers interviewed made an interesting observation about young people in the area in relation to age and diversionary activities:

For the younger kids there was a lot on, but I think there probably was an age group where they were too old for certain things. 14 year-olds here are a lot older than 14 year-olds in other areas... They're very grown up for their age and try to act a bit older. (Police Officer 7)

Key findings from Chapter 6

Police and partner perceptions:

- Attitudes towards the dispersal initiative differed greatly depending on the group/individual's perspective and experiences of implementing or being on the receiving end of the dispersal powers.
- It is important to note that attitudes are not always based on actual experience and therefore such 'evidence' also needs to be treated cautiously.
- Police perceptions of the initiative were unanimously positive, based on their experiences and positive feedback from members of the community.
- Partner agencies' perceptions also appear to be largely positive, but they were partly based on anecdotal evidence they obtained from the police and each other.

- Youth providers were more critical of the initiative owing to its focus on young people and their behaviour, which is not always anti-social, but became constructed as such through the use of the dispersal powers.
- An important point made was that removing young people from the street was not helpful in terms of educating them to behave better and that this could have been a more productive and longer-lasting approach.

Local community perceptions:

- A majority of respondents thought that ASB was a problem (56%) or a serious problem (36%).
- A similar majority believe that crime is a problem (61%) or serious problem (33%).
- Most respondents had not experienced anti-social behaviour in the last year.
- Most respondents did not believe that Parkhead was less safe than other areas of Glasgow.
- Generally speaking respondents felt safer during the day than at night in the area, with those over the age of 60 most likely to feel unsafe when out at night.
- Respondents were more likely to believe the dispersal order was implemented to deal with young people hanging about in the streets rather than high levels of antisocial behaviour.
- Around one-third of respondents who knew about the dispersal order did not understand the powers or boundaries of the dispersal.
- Attitudes towards the use of dispersal powers were mixed, although a majority of respondents (54%) thought it was appropriate.
- Perceptions of safety as a result of the dispersal order showed no overall change, although older people were more likely to think it had increased people's sense of safety.
- Respondents generally thought the dispersal had reduced antisocial behaviour and young people hanging around in public areas, but were not so sure about its effect on crime generally.
- Experience of dispersal and knowing someone who was dispersed appears to have influenced respondents' attitudes towards whether the police were fair and consistent. Age also appears significant in this respect.
- Many respondents (around 44%) thought the initiative unfairly targeted young people.
- A majority of respondents (69%) thought there were not enough places for young people to go in the local area.
- Just over half of all respondents (51%) thought the dispersal was a worthwhile initiative, but this ranged from only 22% of those under 30 years old to almost 94% of those aged 60 and over.

Young People's views:

- There was some confusion voiced about the powers and how they had initially been communicated verbally to young people.

- Young people perceived differences in how they were treated depending on whether or not they knew the police officers that approached them.
- There was a general sense that, not only were young people being picked on, the whole area was unfairly targeted.
- Young people were most affronted by being targeted when 'doing nothing wrong' or going about their normal 'youthful' business (e.g. bike rides).
- This provoked concern about issues of 'fairness' and a 'balanced' response.
- They objected to the perception that they were all potential offenders and trouble makers.
- Dispersing them was not seen as logical to some of the respondents, who believed this potentially exacerbated the issue – or could possibly lead to potential safety problems.
- The likelihood of deviancy amplification was raised by one young person.
- Young people do not feel the services available to them reflect their interests or are fit for purpose.
- The diversion activities on offer were not seen to be suitable for all age groups, with the older teenagers particularly not feeling catered for.

Chapter 7 General Discussion and Conclusions

In this chapter various issues raised from the research are brought together in order to summarise the results and draw some conclusions on the use of dispersal powers in the Parkhead area of Glasgow.

It is clear that in terms of meeting its main objective: 'To improve behaviour within the area and to offer respite to those within it who have suffered from antisocial behaviour over a substantial period of time' (Parkhead Dispersal Leaflet, 2009), the use of dispersal powers was successful. Statistical data suggest there was a reduction in certain forms of antisocial behaviour during the dispersal period and the community survey indicated it was felt by the public to be a worthwhile initiative.

However, the research as a whole suggested that these qualitative and quantitative indicators were qualified in different ways and to different extents by several key issues that are worthy of further consideration. These include issues related to consultation and communication; dispersal, diversion and displacement; the possible demonization of young people and targeting of the 'usual suspects'; sustainability; and measuring results.

7.1 Consultation and Communication

Consultation appears to be key to good communication, and not just between the police and statutory agencies: there was evidence that some non-statutory agencies may have felt marginalised in the consultation process, although they had a key role to play in the delivery of services both during and after the end of the dispersal powers. Even where organisations took part in the consultation process, they could be left feeling that their viewpoints were not taken into account because there was a perception that decisions had been taken before discussions took place.

Young people were also largely missing from the consultation process: although it was noted that there were a few present at the public meetings, it could be argued that this was not the most appropriate forum in which to consult with them because young people may find it difficult to find their voice in such a large forum. As recommended by one of the statutory partners, a separate meeting would have been more suitable. This would have provided an opportunity for dialogue with young people, and allowed their views to be heard, which appears to have been missing from this approach. In doing so, this may also have improved relations between young people and the police.

There was also some evidence of a lack of communication between the police and service providers in relation to concerns raised about the police targeting young people whilst they waited for transport to take them to participate in some of the activities available to them. It is possible that this is also a reflection of the fact that police resources were drafted in

from other areas and therefore had a lack of local knowledge. This was perceived by partner agencies and young people alike as problematic; however, it is important to note that the police reported not having been made aware of any such incidents during or after the dispersal period.

In spite of the publicity required (by statute) on the use of dispersal powers by the police, findings suggest some confusion on the part of the police, the public and young people in particular about aspects of its purpose and implementation. For example, a large part of the community felt they were not sufficiently informed of the purpose and use of the dispersal powers. Similarly, young people appeared confused about the powers and reported variations in how they were treated by the police on the streets depending on which officers (known or unknown) approached them. This suggests that there is scope for more information-sharing/education for some of the groups and for the police to be fully briefed on the powers and their implementation. Whilst police discretion is likely and often appropriate, the differential use of the powers – either through a lack of understanding or a difference in interpretation – is potentially problematic.

7.2 Dispersal

Using dispersal powers was seen by many agencies as a last resort – even as a sign of failure of ‘normal’ policing methods. These powers were seen as necessary to quell a situation that had become ‘out of control’, when a tough response was required. It is worth further consideration, perhaps, how the situation in the area had deteriorated to such an extent that these powers were required.

It was argued by the police and partner agencies that this was the right choice for this particular area at that particular time, based on local knowledge of local problems. However, an analysis of the pre-dispersal data does not provide clear evidence of the ‘serious’ nature of the situation in Parkhead before the dispersal was implemented. In fact findings from police, partner and youth respondents show that they perceived that the crime and anti-social behaviour situation in that area in the months before the dispersal had ‘calmed down’ compared to the previous year – and this is supported by police’s own statistical evidence. Certainly there was a serious and high profile incident (the discharge of a shot gun), which appears to have been seen as ‘the final straw’ used in part to justify the implementation of the dispersal powers, however, it could be argued that initiatives such as dispersal orders target other types of behaviour and other groups/individuals than those likely/or thought to have been involved in the shotgun incident.

Nevertheless, this use of dispersal powers was argued to be a balanced response by the police and most of the partners involved. Public opinion also appeared to support this with most believing it was a worthwhile and beneficial exercise for the community as a whole,

although age/generational differences were evident: whilst just over half (51%) of all respondents thought the dispersal was a worthwhile initiative, this ranged from only 22% of those under 30 years old to almost 94% of those aged 60 and over.

7.3 Diversion

The diversion aspect of the initiative was seen by all parties involved as crucial to both short and longer-term success. Although it was claimed by many partners that there is a plethora of activities available in the area, the community survey showed the public did not perceive this to be the case and young people themselves were divided about the availability and accessibility of such activities.

Whilst it is clear that those involved in the provision of diversion activities were keen to make a contribution both during and after the initiative, there did appear to be a mismatch between the activities available and the mean age of those apparently affected most by the use of dispersal powers. There also appears to be a disconnection between the timetabling of some of the programmes available and the needs of young people, for example a lack of diversionary activities on Friday and Saturday evenings and more generally during the weekends, including Sundays, when young people are most likely to find themselves with nothing to do – and when police data show anti-social behaviour is most likely to occur. This also applies to holiday periods and it was notable that one youth provider was able to provide services over Christmas and New Year when the dispersal zone was extended to cover this period. However, this appears to have been a one-off and was unable to be sustained due to resources/funding.

Unfortunately, there are also still issues with territoriality, which may prevent some young people from taking up the opportunities available in the area, which suggests that more education and effort is required to address the entrenched nature of ‘gang territories’. It should be noted, however, that both youth providers and young people themselves indicated that much had already been achieved in this area of breaking down these ‘invisible’ barriers. It is important that such efforts are not undermined (however inadvertently) by police actions.

7.4 Displacement

Although identified as a potential problem associated with dispersal zones, there was no evidence of any geographical displacement effect: this is perhaps explained by the geography of the designated area and a consequence of territoriality, both of which appear to have been taken into consideration at the planning stage.

There was some evidence of 'managed displacement' (that is where the antisocial behaviour is directed away from the dispersal zone to locations where it will not be perceived as such for one reason or another), which is perhaps not as benevolent an approach as it may seem. For example, directing young people away from built-up areas to less populated, more out of sight areas could have unforeseen consequences for their safety.

No analysis of displacement – of any kind – appears to have been conducted by the police, which is interesting given that the results in this crucial area appear to be very positive. It would be interesting to compare these results with other local dispersals (e.g. the most recent use of dispersal powers in the Saracen Cross area of Glasgow) where territoriality may not be as significant.

7.5 Demonising Young People

The largely positive evaluations of the use of dispersal powers by the police, some partner agencies, the media and parts of the community appear to have been achieved at the expense of significant restrictions on young people's movements during the designated times in the dispersal area. A danger of this approach is that it artificially separates communities into 'us' (law-abiding citizens) and 'them' (law-breaking and anti-social individuals), although in reality the lines are not as clear and distinct between the two.

It is interesting to note that a report in *The Re-Gen* newspaper claimed that 'ordinary members of the public have nothing to fear'; however this was an over-simplified argument since the legislation allows for pre-emptive action to be taken on the part of the police and community wardens, based on people's presence rather than behaviour and evidence collected suggested that young people were in fact subject to dispersal when going about their 'lawful' business.

There was evidence that young people felt unfairly targeted (both individually and as members of groups) and demonised to some extent by the apparent focus of dispersal powers on them (as evidenced by the statistical overview of those dispersed, excluded and arrested). The possible repercussions of such a 'labelling' approach include (further) alienation of young people within their communities, more general frustration about their place in society, and possible antagonism towards the police, which could have both short and long-term implications for positive police/youth relations and attitudes towards antisocial and criminal behaviour (in terms of exacerbating the problem instead of easing it). This was clear from the focus group interviews with young people and the street surveys conducted by a youth provider during the dispersal period.

7.6 The Usual Suspects

From the interviews with police and partner agencies, it was clear that there was a sense of who ‘the usual suspects’ were; that is, those individuals and gangs that are perceived to cause a high level of antisocial behaviour in the areas covered by the dispersal zone. Reference was made several times by different people to a ‘hard core’ of individuals whose behaviour was perceived to be continuing to cause problems in the local area. It is interesting to note in this respect that there were 115 exclusions, which indicates that a significant proportion of the young people affected did not live in the dispersal area, which covered a relatively large geographical area. Also relevant here is that a small group of individuals were dispersed several times, suggesting that the initiative may not have had the anticipated crime prevention and/or behaviour modification effect on some people. In contrast, the fact that there were only 28 arrests during the lifetime of the dispersal initiative could indicate a significant crime prevention effect, although further statistical analysis would be required to confirm this.

In spite of claims that the initiative was not focused on young people, it is clear from the policing approach adopted, the statistical data analysed, media reports, and the focus of the diversion activities on offer that young people, and more particularly their perceived problematic pastimes and behaviour were primarily targeted – not necessarily by the police but by the legislation itself. This perhaps makes sense in many respects, given that young people are the group most likely to present themselves on the streets ‘for policing’. However, it would not appear to justify a ‘blanket’ approach towards all young people who may be on the streets for a variety of reasons – even when such initiatives are perceived (as was argued) to be ‘for their own good’.

Young people themselves did not appear to believe that the initiative was for their own good and could have positive consequences in relation to keeping them out of potentially dangerous situations. Some of them argued that by splitting them up the police could be making it more difficult for them to manage their presence and behaviour on the streets, whilst at the same time potentially putting young people at risk by undermining their group mentality of ‘safety in numbers’. The issue of safety was also raised in relation to managed displacement (see below) and family background. For example, it was pointed out in relation to safety that for some young people the safest option may in fact be on the streets and not at home.

7.7 Sustainability of Results

The use of dispersal powers is inevitably a short-term remedy – intended to provide ‘respite’ to communities. However, for any benefits that accrue to be sustainable in the longer term, there needs to be a clear exit-strategy in place, and any such exit strategy should also

involve the police. In this respect it was suggested by some of the partners that the police could take a more proactive approach to developing more positive relationships with young people and that 'walking away quietly' at the end of the dispersal initiative may have been counterproductive as it suggested the police had taken an 'enforcement' rather than a 'engagement' approach to young people in these communities.

This is potentially problematic as the police have to strike a balance between the interests of the wider community and those of young people, who are also part of their local communities. In this sense, adopting a 'water-cannon' approach (as mentioned by one officer – spray the crowd liberally to catch the chief protagonists: others will get wet too, but that is the price that has to be paid) may work in terms of preventing and reducing anti-social behaviour, but at what cost to the young people innocently caught in the resulting shower?

An interesting point raised by one of the partners was the lost opportunity for educating young people about using the streets. It was argued that many young people – for various reasons – may find themselves spending a lot of time on the streets and that simply 'banishing' them is not only unfair, but also a short-term approach that does not consider ways in which they could be encouraged to share public spaces without intimidating other members of the community, both young and old alike.

7.8 Measuring results

In relation to measuring results, the positive evaluations of the initiative by the partners and community appear to be based as much on perceptions and anecdote as evidence. This is a common phenomenon, but does suggest a public reassurance effect as opposed to the effect of a general and sustained decrease in antisocial behaviour and crime rates. In spite of such anecdotal 'evidence', there was no clear and/or consistent statistical evidence of a sustained drop in crime or anti-social behaviour generally solely as a result of the dispersal initiative, although the situational crime prevention effect of the initiative could not fail but have some effect on youth-type offences while the dispersal zone was in place.

It appears that the very early results (a simple numeric comparison one week into the dispersal with the same 1 week period the year before, which suggested a significant fall in ABS) may have been reported widely and then adopted or accepted as 'fact' without being subject to any rigorous statistical analysis or contextualisation. This can lead to a situation where anecdote replaces empirical evidence and the resulting perceptions or assumptions appear to negate the need for systematic and rigorous analysis not just of available statistical data, but also of qualitative data to gauge the wider implications on different groups of the use of such powers – as this evaluation has sought to do.

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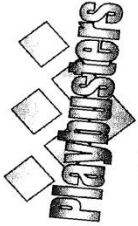
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APPENDIX 1:


THERE'S MORE GOING ON THAN YOU THINK!

YOUTH ACTIVITIES AND EVENTS


Services delivered by:




www.playbusters.org.uk



www.urban-fox.org




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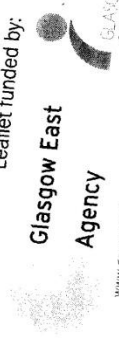


www.glasgow.gov.uk



www.safeglasgow.com

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**Glasgow East
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www.gera.org.uk

**GLASGOW EAST
COMMUNITY PLANNING PARTNERSHIP**

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THERE'S MORE GOING ON
THAN YOU THINK!



YOUTH ACTIVITIES & EVENTS

GLASGOW EAST

AUTUMN / WINTER 2009

INTERESTED IN JOBS & TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES?

GERA's mission is to contribute to a confident, healthy and prosperous East End by getting people into or back into work, helping them stay and progress in work and bringing a wider choice of work opportunities within their grasp. We provide a range of services and develop initiatives that help people fulfil their ambitions and potential. See inside for details...

Day	Time	Venue	Age Range	Activity	Organisation	More Information
Monday	4pm - 6pm	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)	5 - 11	Games & Play	East End Mobile Play Team	0141 556 1195
	6:30pm - 8:30pm	Calton/Parkhead Parish Church	8-12	Youth Club	Parkhead Youth Project and EEHAF	0141 554 3866
	4pm - 5:30pm	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)	5 - 8	Play The Game	Culture & Sport Glasgow/Urban Fox	0141 556 1195
Tuesday	5:30pm - 7:00pm	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)	9 - 12	Play The Game	Culture & Sport Glasgow/Urban Fox	0141 556 1195
	6pm - 7pm	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)	16 - 25	Drills & Skills	Urban Fox	0141 556 1195
	7:30pm - 9pm	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)	12 - 16	Drop-in	Urban Fox	0141 556 1195
Wednesday	9:30am - 11:30 am	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)	16+	Employment Info Point	GERA	0141 781 2000
	4pm - 6pm	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)	5 - 11	Arts & Crafts Games	Urban Fox	0141 556 1195
	5:30pm - 8:45pm	Whitson Community Hall	8-18	Youth Club & Drop-in	Parkhead Youth Project/Urban Fox	0141 554 3802
Thursday	5:30pm - 7pm	Playbustlers Parkhead	8+	Club Activities	Playbustlers	0141 951 0071
	1pm - 3pm	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)	16+	Learning	P.A.I.	0141 951 6050
	4pm - 4:40pm	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)	5 - 8	Football Skills	Urban Fox	0141 556 1195
Friday	4:40pm - 5:20pm	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)	9 - 11	Football Skills	Urban Fox	0141 556 1195
	5:20pm - 6pm	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)	12 - 15	Football Skills	Urban Fox	0141 556 1195
	6pm - 7pm	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)	16+	Football Skills	Urban Fox	0141 556 1195
Saturday	6:30pm - 9:30pm	Playbarn, Tillycra Road, Garthamlock		Futsal	East Mobile Resources	0141 276 7400
	5:30pm - 7pm	Playbustlers Parkhead	8+	Club Activities	Playbustlers	0141 951 0071
	4pm - 5:30pm	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)	8 - 11	Games & Play	Urban Fox	0141 556 1195
Sunday	5pm - 9pm	Eastbank Academy (Shettleston)		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
	6pm - 9pm	Dalmarock Community Centre		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
	6pm - 9pm	Tolcross Youth Centre		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
Monday	6pm - 9pm	Budhill Family Centre		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
	6pm - 9pm	Wellpark Hall (Wellpark)		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
	6pm - 9pm	Smithcroft School (Hillside)		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
Tuesday	6:30pm - 9pm	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)	12 - 16	Drop-in	Urban Fox	0141 556 1195
	6:30pm - 9:30pm	Bannerman School (Garrowhill)		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
	7pm - 9pm	Whitehill School (Dennistoun)		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
Wednesday	6:30pm - 9pm	Muga Park, Powfoot Street, Parkhead		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
	7pm - 9pm	St. Luke's & St. Andrew's Church (Calton)		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
	7pm - 9pm	Whitehill School (Dennistoun)		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
Thursday	6 - 8pm	Playbustlers Parkhead	8+	Club Activities	Playbustlers	0141 951 0071
	12pm - 3pm	Bluevale Community Flat (Gallowgate)		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
	1pm - 4pm	Sandhill Flats		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
Friday	3pm - 8pm	Dalmarock Community Centre		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
	6pm - 9pm	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
	6pm - 9pm	YMCA (Tollcross)		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
Saturday	6pm - 9pm	Helenslea Hall (Parkhead)	12 - 16	Drop-in	EEHAF/Urban Fox	0141 556 1195
	6:30pm - 8:30pm	Calton Parkhead Parish Church		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
	6:30pm - 8:30pm	Calton/Parkhead Parish Church	8 - 18	Youth Club	Parkhead Youth Project	0141 554 3866
Sunday	6:30pm - 8:30pm	Whitson Street, Gallowgate		Futsal	East Mobile Resources	0141 276 7400
	7pm - 9:30pm	Chill Muir Memorial Hall (Garrowhill)		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
	5pm - 8pm	Dalmarock Centre		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
Monday	6pm - 8pm	Playbustlers (Parkhead)		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
	6:30pm - 8:30pm	Reidvale Adventure Play Area (Dennistoun)		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500
	7pm - 9pm	St. Luke's & St. Andrew's Church (Calton)		Weekend Youth Activity Programme	John Wheatley College	0141 558 1500

Glasgow East

Agency

EMPLOYABILITY SERVICES:
 Training Opportunities - Advice & Guidance - CV Preparation - Job search - Interview Techniques - Recruitment Services - In Work Support
 1403 Gallowgate, Glasgow G31 4EU T: 0141 551 5000 W: www.gera.org.uk E: info@era.org.uk

EAST END COMMUNITY ACADEMY:
 IT Training - Cisco Academy - Microsoft Academy - Industry Recognised Qualifications - Placement & Employment Opportunities
 78 - 80 Tolcross Road, Glasgow G3 7JL T: 0141 551 5100 W: www.eeca.org.uk E: info@eeca.org.uk

APPENDIX 2:

DISPERSAL NOTICE LEAFLET

LETTER OF INTENTION

Strathclyde Police and Glasgow City Council are committed to tackling antisocial behaviour. Together, we have been reviewing the situation in the area of Parkhead and Lilybank, Glasgow (see map), over the last year.

We are determined to resolve the issues within this area and will work together with the community to improve the quality of life for those who live, work or use this area.

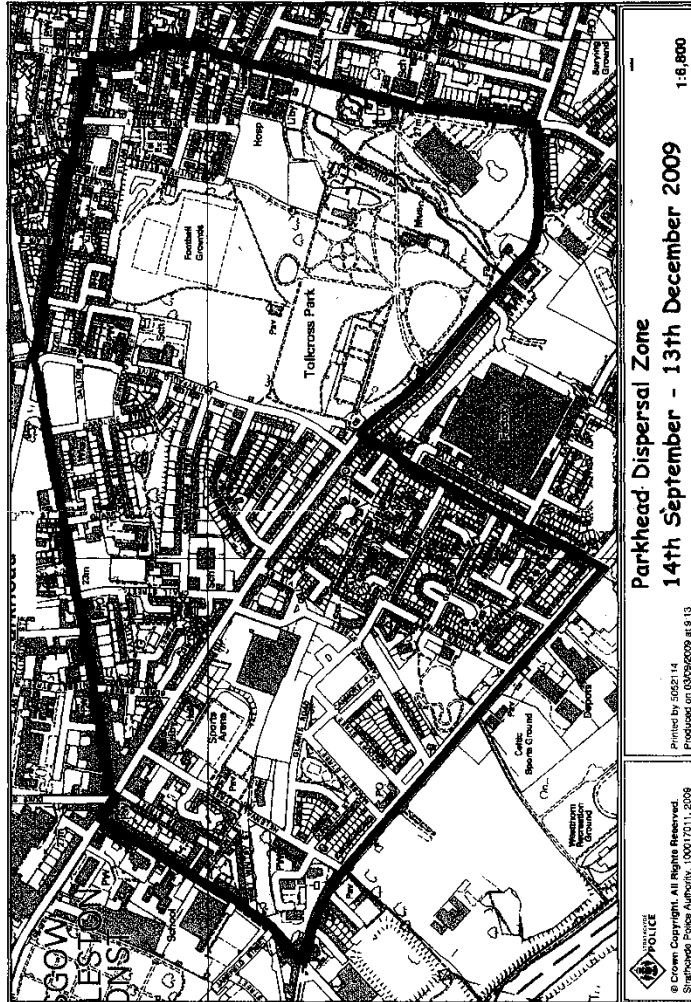
It is for this reason that Strathclyde Police, in consultation with Glasgow City Council, has decided to use a power of dispersal to tackle antisocial behaviour in this area. This leaflet explains what powers are provided under the Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004 and the manner in which they will be used.

These measures are only part of our joint problem-solving approach to this area of Parkhead and Lilybank. Glasgow City Council and Strathclyde Police will continue to use all means at our disposal to resolve these issues. We trust that you will find this information useful.

September 2009

Val Thomson
Superintendent
Strathclyde Police

Ian A Drummond
Solicitor to the Council
Glasgow City Council



Parkhead Dispersal Zone
14th September – 13th December 2009

1:8,000

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Strathclyde Police Authority, 100070711, 2009

Power of

Dispersal

Antisocial Behaviour
etc. (Scotland) Act 2004

The area to which the power of dispersal applies is outlined on the map.

If you require any further information please contact 0141 532 4600

www.strathclyde.police.uk



"The information available to me demonstrates unacceptable levels of antisocial behaviour and violent disorder in the relevant locality, particularly involving disturbances between or among gangs of children, young persons and adults. Whilst the number of those actually involved in the disorder is comparatively small, the impact of their antisocial behaviour on the community in the relevant locality causes a disproportionate level of alarm, distress and harassment; the community in the relevant locality is entitled to expect a safe and peaceful community."

Supt Thomson

INTRODUCTION

The following questions and answers are designed to provide you with a basic understanding of the provisions of the Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004 in relation to the dispersal of antisocial groups. However, more detailed information can be obtained from

www.antisocialbehaviourscotland.com

What is a power of dispersal?

The Act provides the police and local authority with additional powers to tackle antisocial behaviour within communities. One of these powers is commonly referred to as a dispersal, which allows a police superintendent to designate a specified area and permit the use of additional powers within that area.

What are those additional powers?

If a police officer has reasonable grounds for believing that the presence or behaviour of a group of two or more persons within the dispersal area is causing or is likely to cause alarm or distress to any members of the public, he or she may:

- require the persons in the group to disperse
- require those not living in the area to leave the area and not return for a period of up to 24 hours.

What is the intention of the power of dispersal?

It is being used to improve behaviour within the area and to offer respite to those within it who have suffered from antisocial behaviour over a substantial period of time.

Is it appropriate to use this power for the problems in the area of Parkhead and Lilybank, Glasgow?

The superintendent for the area, in consultation with Glasgow City Council, is satisfied that the problems of antisocial behaviour in the area are sufficiently serious, significant and persistent to justify the use of this power.

What is antisocial behaviour?

Antisocial behaviour occurs when any person acts in a manner that causes or is likely to cause alarm or distress to at least one other person who is not of the same household.

What type of behaviour could this include?

The meaning of antisocial behaviour is extremely broad, but could include shouting, swearing, urinating, vandalism, careless and inconsiderate driving, playing loud music or even littering. Each set of circumstances will be different and it will be for the police officer in the first instance, dealing with an incident, to decide upon the impact – or likely impact – of the presence or behaviour of any group of persons.

What area will it apply to?

The authorised Dispersal Zone is bounded by the below stated Streets and Roadways, including all the Glasgow streets contained within:

The area in Glasgow lying south and east including the north footpath of Westmuir Street from its junction with Parkhead Cross to its junction with Shettleston Road, and then lying to the south including the north footpath of Shettleston Road from its junction with Westmuir Street to its junction with Wellshot Road and then lying to the west including the east footpath of Wellshot Road from its junction with Shettleston Road, to its junction with Tollcross Road, and then lying north and north west including the south footpath of Tollcross Road from its junction with Wellshot Road, to its junction with Maunkinfault Road, and then lying to the north and west including the east footpath of Maunkinfault Road from its junction with Tollcross Road, to its junction with London Road, and then lying to the north and west including the south footpath of London

Road from its junction with Maunkinfault Road, to its junction with Springfield Road, and then lying north and east including the west footpath of Springfield Road from its junction with London Road, to its junction with Parkhead Cross, all as more particularly delineated within the area outlined in red on the attached copy plan.

When does it apply?

The additional powers will be available in the above area on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays between 6pm and 1am each day, and on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays between 4pm and 2am on each day from 14 September 2009 to midnight 13 December 2009 (both dates inclusive). The power of dispersal is intended to run for three months, though it can be withdrawn at any time during that period by the superintendent if he/she considers it appropriate. The power of dispersal can thereafter be renewed for further periods of up to three months each if considered appropriate by the superintendent.

What if I work or live in the area?

The additional powers are to be used only in relation to a person whose presence or behaviour is causing, or is likely to cause, alarm or distress. This will not affect residents or persons who are employed in the area unless they engage in antisocial behaviour.

If I am asked to leave the dispersal area, what could happen?

If a person required by a police officer to leave a dispersal area returns to that area or refuses to leave without reasonable excuse, he or she could be arrested and, if found guilty of an offence under the Act, may be fined up to £2,500 or be sentenced to three months imprisonment or both.

Does this mean the area affected by the power will be a 'no-go' area?

No. Everyone will be entitled to continue to use the area as they would normally. However, it means that antisocial behaviour will not be tolerated within the area and that persons committing it will be asked to leave.



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